

LINCOLN BIBLE INSTITUTE

Alex F. Fountain

SIX GREAT ANGLICANS

SIX GREAT ANGLICANS

A Study of the
History of the Church of England
in the Nineteenth Century

by

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FOREWORD

THIS book consists of six lectures on Pastoral Theology delivered at Cambridge during the academic year 1927-1928. I have tried to make six great parish priests of the last century live again for their successors in the twentieth century, and to add some suggestions of my own from a short experience of parochial life. I have chosen these men because each of them seemed to me to emphasise some particular side of work in a modern parish which ought not to be forgotten to-day. It may be thought that I should have brought out other aspects of their work if I was to give a true picture of their lives. But I believed that the best help I could give to candidates for Ordination to-day was to concentrate on one main point in each lecture and illustrate it from what little experience I had had in a large town parish. In four and a half years I learned to love the life of a parish priest of the Church of England. I hope and pray that this book may help others to love it too.

F. W. HEAD.

Liverpool.

April 1929.

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TO MY FRIENDS AT
CHRIST CHURCH, GREENWICH,
WHO TAUGHT ME TO LOVE PARISH WORK

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I

CHARLES SIMEON

“Placed for half a century among the sources of public opinion, scientific, literary and religious and whilst the minds of the future public around him were as yet unformed and opening, he could not fail of leaving a strong impress on the generation. His opinions were gradually recognised as a School of Divinity, his undergraduate friends swelled into the dimensions of a party, and his religious movement was unconsciously carried forward on all sides until now it is difficult to ascertain how much or how little of the present religious element which pervades society has been due to Simeon’s influence.”—*Recollections of the Conversation Parties of the Rev. Charles Simeon*, by A. W. Brown, 58.

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PASTORAL Theology may perhaps be defined as the knowledge of Christianity in its practical application to parochial life. This course of lectures in the past has generally been given by some parish clergyman of ripe experience who could give wise advice to others after years spent in parish work. I dare not do this, for my own experience of a parish only lasted four and a half years. At Christ Church, Greenwich, among 21,000 people, mostly of the working class, I was beginning to grasp the problem of the work when I was called to other work in the North. I have only suggestions rather than considered opinions to offer on the problems of parish life. I propose therefore to consider with you in these lectures the work and the opinions of six well-known parish clergymen during the nineteenth century, in order that they may teach us what their aims and ideals were. There is a danger that the lives of some of these men may be forgotten, although they are immensely valuable to us. If we can realise once more what they did and how they did it we shall, I believe, learn lessons of great importance. In each case we can discuss the bearing of the particular life upon the needs of our own day, and here perhaps my own experience for what it is worth may be of some use in judging the value of

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the work of these great examples. We shall understand our own problems all the better if we have some knowledge of how similar problems have been solved in the recent past.

The six parish clergymen whom I have chosen for our consideration were all eminent men, and each made some distinct contribution to the work which was common to them all. Charles Simeon was the acknowledged leader of the Evangelical School at the beginning of the century, and his teaching, through his pupils, permeated the lives of scores of men and women throughout the country. John Keble, as one of the first leaders of the Tractarian movement, had much to do with the revival of the Catholic ideal in England, yet remained essentially a parish priest all his life. Walter Farquhar Hook carried these principles on to the North and set up a new standard of parochial life and work in Leeds. Frederick William Robertson was the most remarkable preacher of his time, and for the few years that he was at Brighton he showed what really thoughtful sermons could do. Charles Kingsley, in his country parish of Eversley, by his strong personality and his literary fame, was one of the leading figures of his time yet all the while he was at heart a country parson who loved his parish. Samuel Augustus Barnett helped to solve great social problems in the later part of the century, but it was from his knowledge of the poor as an East-end Vicar that he learned his solutions.

The study of such lives as these must help us to deal with the similar problems of our parishes to-day. Abstract theories are sometimes dull and difficult,

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but persons and their doings are always interesting. Biography is a fascinating form of literature, and if we can once in imagination stand beside these great men and face with them their difficulties, their failures and their successes, their thoughts and their deeds, if we can see them at prayer and at work, we shall realise the strength that comes from their companionship in our difficulties and longings and ideals. The very variety of the work of these six men will give us a new vision of the richness and comprehensiveness of the task to which the Church of England is called.

Our study is of great importance. At first we are inclined to be disheartened when we think of some empty churches, of the lack of Ordination Candidates, of the intellectual doubts which keep some men back from the Church, of the divisions which weaken the common witness of Christians. But there is much to be said on the other side. The basis of the national life is the home, and the parish is made up of a larger or smaller number of homes. Upon the life of our people in their homes many influences are brought to bear with varying effects upon our moral standards. There are heredity, education, environment, the daily work and many other forces. What matters almost more than anything else is local leadership, and it is precisely that which the parish clergyman can give. Other leaders may come in and out of the parish as visitors, some may touch it by their writings, some by their words, some by their influence or wealth. But the clergyman lives in the parish as a resident. He is there always to help, to advise, to teach. He is the friend

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of all and is often trusted by all and sometimes loved by all. There is a great desire for service to-day as an ideal for the younger generation especially. There is no higher service for others than real leadership. This is just what the clergyman can give and none can understand its possibilities until they have been ordained themselves. The reward is something which is indescribably good. It is the sense of being wanted in the homes of the parishioners.

But there is more even than this. We live in an age of transition after the war. "The old order changeth yielding place to new." Social reformers are seeking new methods of life to mitigate its hardships and to make all men happy. But in these enquiries and schemes they often think that the search for the ideal begins with man and the success or failure of our plans depends on human skill and enterprise. The parish clergyman is also conscious of the necessity of new plans to meet the changing needs of the time. But he does not trust to man-made schemes for success. He believes that he is called by God to find out God's will and to do it. The sense of resting on God rather than man and the consciousness that God has a will for the progress of our changing world and that all we have to do is to try and carry it out, are at once our inspiration and our confidence. It is no small task to which we are called but something which matters for the national life more than anything else in these critical years. If in these lectures we can realise once more the glory and the joy of the work of the parish clergyman we shall have learnt something of the

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meaning of the words of Jesus Christ¹—“ Whosoever will save his life shall lose it : but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the Gospel’s, the same shall save it.”

The great fact which dominates the history of the Church of England during the nineteenth century is the change from the position of privilege in the nation to the one of service for the nation. At the beginning of the century the Church is conscious of the favour of the state as the Establishment. It has no rival as a religious teacher, for the Nonconformists are checked by the Test Act and the Roman Catholics are a small and unpopular minority. The Bible is the unquestioned authority for belief and conduct. Education is controlled by the clergy and the Universities are their exclusive training-ground. The working man is unable to unite with his fellows or to express his opinions lest they should be dangerous. The daily and periodical press is only read by the few and they belong to the class which supports the Church. Conscious of their privileged position the clergy lead the nation but they do not always serve it in the spirit of Christ.

Gradually, as the years go on, they learn to serve as their privileges are taken from them. The Nonconformists win equal rights as citizens and as Christians. Education passes more and more from the hands of the Church to those of the State. The Universities cease to be the strongholds of Anglicanism and are thrown open to all. Roman Catholicism is freed from its shackles and spreads in influence and numbers. The party in the Church which has

¹ St. Mark, viii, 35.

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most sympathy with Rome passes from subordination to leadership. The authority of the Bible is subjected to the attacks of natural science and historical criticism. The growth in importance of the working classes lessens the influence of the Church which is regarded as unsympathetic with their ideals.

But the Church gains more than it loses. It gives up privilege after privilege. But it learns a new spirit of service. It uses its advantages less and less for itself and tries to use them for the benefit of the nation. It uses new truth to show the full glory of its divine Lord to those who seek Him, it seeks out the new working class in the worst districts and keeps them Christian, it learns a new spirit of tolerance in contact with bodies of Christians whom at one time it was apt to despise. At the end of the century it realises that it is nearer to the nation by service than ever it could be by privilege.

Let us begin our series with Charles Simeon (1759-1836), who was the Vicar of Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge, from 1782 till his death in 1836. We shall best understand his work if we remind ourselves of the great events in the midst of which his life was spent. Extraordinarily stirring they were. He was born in the year when in the Seven Years' War defeat for England changed to victory, and as a small boy he belonged to the England which possessed the whole of North America. As a schoolboy he saw the beginning of the War of American Independence in 1776, and in the year after his ordination came the Peace of Paris in 1783, which secured the Independence of the

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United States. He lived as Vicar of Holy Trinity all through the exciting outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, and the struggle between England and France which began in 1793 developed into the colossal struggle of Europe and Napoleon and culminated in Waterloo in 1815. When peace came in that year he watched the uneasy upheavals of Europe as the Holy Alliance led by Metternich in Austria and Alexander in Russia tried to repress liberty wherever it seemed to be dangerous. At home he witnessed the struggles for reform which were the effect of that industrial revolution which began in the eighteenth century and, after a period of repression during the war, went on to its completion in the nineteenth. In 1824 the Combination Laws were repealed, after which workmen were allowed to combine and to form trade-unions. In 1828 the Test Act was repealed by which Nonconformists became eligible for office and seats in Parliament. In the same year the Corporation Act was repealed by which they became eligible for municipal offices. In 1829 came the bill for Catholic Emancipation which removed the civil disabilities of Roman Catholics. In 1832 came the climax of this whole movement in the reform of Parliament by the first Reform Bill by which political power passed from the Whig aristocracy to the new industrial middle class created by the economic changes of three quarters of a century.

Charles Simeon lived his quiet, comparatively uneventful life at Cambridge through all these exciting years, busy with his work as a clergyman in the University and in his parish, almost unmoved

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by the great political and social movements of his time. He could not help being influenced by the greatest religious force of that period, Methodism. John Wesley had passed through the experience of "Conversion" in 1738 and ever since then had gone up and down England founding societies of those who were "converted" like himself. During his lifetime his followers remained in touch with the Church of England. After his death in 1791 they seceded and formed a church of their own. The religious revival brought about by Wesley and his fellow-workers produced in the Church the Evangelicals. There were certain fundamental doctrines on which Methodist and Evangelical were agreed. One was the total depravity of human nature. They held that the image of God in the soul of man was not only defaced but effaced by the Fall. A second doctrine was that of the Atonement or the vicarious sacrifice of Christ which was made not only on behalf of, but instead of, sinful man and was the sole meritorious cause of man's acceptance with God. A third doctrine was that of justification by faith alone as the instrumental cause of man's salvation. A fourth doctrine was the absolute need of a conscious conversion or regeneration. A fifth doctrine was the belief in the sanctification of man by God's Holy Spirit. A sixth was the plenary inspiration of all the canonical books of Holy Scripture. A seventh was the obligation of the Lord's Day or Christian Sabbath. An eighth was the insistence of the necessity of the two Sacraments of the Gospel, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, though they held a less prominent place in the teaching of this

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School than in the Catholic School of Christian thought.¹

Where the Methodist and the Evangelical differed was in their loyalty to the Church of England. The Methodist almost inevitably put his Society before his Church. The appointment by Wesley of Lay Preachers conflicted with the authority of the clergy. The building of separate meeting houses set up chapels as rivals to the churches. It was this tendency to schism which strengthened the love of the Evangelical for his Church and his parish. To the one the Church was hide-bound and tied to formulaires. To the other the Church was all-important and must not lose the blessing of this new spiritual life. These evangelical clergy were not popular with those in authority in the Church. They were called "serious" clergy and regarded as tainted with the heresy of "enthusiasm." But scattered about the country they were bringing back real Christianity into the lives of thousands. James Hervey at Collingtree, William Grimshaw at Haworth in Yorkshire, John Berridge at Everton were doing in country parishes what John Newton and Thomas Scott were doing in London, and Samuel Walker was doing in far away Truro. Among these early Evangelicals was one whose influence on Simeon was of great importance. Henry Venn (1724-1797) was a man of great culture and high dignity. He lived a blameless and deeply spiritual life. His great work was done at Huddersfield, of which town he was Vicar (1760-1771). He made his mark there as a preacher and a parish priest, but had to retire at

¹ Overton. *The Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 187, 188.

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the age of forty-seven, worn out with over-work. He then went to the village of Yelling near Cambridge, where he was often visited by Simeon and others who found help and inspiration in his life and teaching.¹

This was the religious force which was most vigorous in England at the end of the eighteenth century. Anyone who was in earnest about Christianity had to reckon with it. But the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were hardly touched by it at all. Yet these were the training-ground of nearly all the future clergymen of the Church. These Universities were controlled by clergymen, the tutors and lecturers were nearly all clergymen, loyalty to the Thirty-nine Articles was expected of all those who studied and taught there, while attendance at the College Chapels was compulsory for all. Yet here, where of all places religious zeal might be chiefly expected, it was strangely absent. To be called a Methodist was a term of abuse. Enthusiasm was regarded as dangerous. Evangelical piety was despised or scarcely regarded as worth consideration.

It was to Cambridge in the days of the struggle with France at the end of the eighteenth century that Charles Simeon came with the message of Evangelicalism. His life, though lived apart from the great world, is very interesting. He was born at Reading, September 24th, 1759. His father Richard Simeon "was an upright man commanding the deference of his son rather than his affection, holding religion in respect but certainly not fostering its

¹ *Op. cit.*, v.

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spirit and power in his family.”¹ Charles went to Eton in 1768 as a boy of nine, and stayed there for ten years. One incident is recorded of him there. When in 1776 a national Fast Day was enjoined on account of the American War he felt that, as he says afterwards, “to humble myself before God was a duty of immediate and indispensable necessity. Accordingly, I spent the day in fasting and prayer. I do not remember that these good desires ever returned during my days at school.”² In 1779 he went up to King’s College, Cambridge, as a Foundation Scholar, where the privileges of his College positively debarred him from the stimulus of public examinations.

Soon after his arrival at Cambridge occurred the event which determined the whole course of his life, his conversion, the story of which shall be told in his own words. “On my coming to College, January 29th, 1779, the gracious designs of God towards me were soon manifested. It was but the third day after my arrival that I understood that I should be expected in the space of about three months to attend the Lord’s Supper. What! said I, *must* I attend? On being informed that I *must*, the thought rushed into my mind that Satan himself was as fit to attend as I, and that if I must attend, I must *prepare* for my attendance there. Without a moment’s loss of time, I bought the old *Whole Duty of Man* (the only religious book that I had ever heard of) and began to read it with great diligence, at the same time calling my ways to remembrance and

¹ Moule. *Charles Simeon*, p. 4.

² Carus. *Life of Charles Simeon*, p. 5.

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crying to God for mercy ; and so earnest was I in these exercises that within the three months I made myself quite ill with reading, fasting and prayer. From that day to this (1813), blessed for ever blessed be my God, I have never ceased to regard the salvation of my soul as the one thing needful.

“ I am far from considering it a good thing that young men in the University should be compelled to go to the table of the Lord ; for it has an evident tendency to lower in their estimation that sacred ordinance and to harden them in their iniquities ; but God was pleased to make use of that compulsion for the good of my soul and to bring me to repentance by means which, for the most part, I fear, drive men into a total disregard of all religion. . . .

“ My distress of mind continued. But in Passion Week as I was reading Bishop Wilson on the Lord’s Supper, I met with an expression to this effect : ‘ That the Jews knew what they did when they transferred their sin to the head of their offering.’ The thought rushed to my mind, What ! may I transfer all my guilt to another ? Has God provided an offering for me that I may lay my sins on his head ? Then, God willing, I will not bear them on my own soul one moment longer. Accordingly I sought to lay my sins upon the sacred head of Jesus : and on the Wednesday began to have a hope of mercy : on the Thursday the hope increased ; on the Friday and Saturday it became more strong ; and on the Sunday morning (Easter Day, April 4th) I awoke only with those words upon my heart and lips, ‘ Jesus Christ is risen to-day ! Hallelujah ! Hallelujah ! ’ From that hour peace flowed in rich

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abundance into my soul, and at the Lord's table in our Chapel I had the sweetest access to God through my blessed Saviour.”¹

This experience has been related at some length because it gives the starting-point of all Simeon's religious convictions and coloured all his later teaching. Like Wesley he knew what it was to be converted and he believed that the consciousness of God's love and forgiveness to a man who realised himself to be a sinner was the first essential step in the Christian life. During the rest of his undergraduate life he lived very much alone as an earnest Christian among his contemporaries. He began to do good in a quiet way to those about him. He confided his discovery to a few college friends, he started a system of instruction for the college servants and began family prayers at home when he was there during vacations. His diary gives accounts of his own spiritual condition and he was obviously growing stronger in his conviction that he must dedicate his life to telling others the good news of the Gospel of forgiveness through the death of Christ which he had learned himself.

On May 26th, 1782, Simeon was ordained Deacon in Ely Cathedral, his title to Orders being his Fellowship at King's College to which he had succeeded four months earlier. After helping for a short time as honorary curate at St. Edward's Church, Cambridge, he was appointed Vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, in November 1782, by the Bishop of Ely who was the patron. At first there was great opposition from several of the

¹ Carus, pp. 6-9.

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parishioners who wished for the appointment of the curate, whose name was Hammond. After some dispute a letter from the Bishop decided the matter and incidentally throws an interesting light on the problems of patronage in those days. "From respect to your father (who has wrote in your favour)," said the Bishop, "and confidence in your character, I had intended to have entrusted this preferment to your care. The parishioners have petitioned for Mr. Hammond and unless gratified insinuate their intentions of bestowing their (afternoon) lectureship on another person than my curate (i.e. than the Vicar). I do not like that mode of application and, if you do not accept it, shall certainly not license Mr. Hammond. I shall await your answer."¹ With this authority Simeon accepted the living and preached his first sermon on November 10th, 1792.

For the next few years Simeon was struggling against the opposition of the supporters of Mr. Hammond. The new Vicar occupied the pulpit in the morning on Sundays and the people's lecturer, Mr. Hammond, in the afternoon. This went on for five years until on Mr. Hammond's resignation he was succeeded by a Mr. Berry for seven years. During these years the church was made as inaccessible to Simeon as possible. The doors of the pews which belonged to the parishioners were almost all locked while their owners were absent, leaving the aisles only for any congregation that might assemble. Simeon set forms in the aisles and even put up open seats in nooks and corners at his own expense, but these the churchwardens pulled

¹ *Carus, 41-43.*

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down and threw into the churchyard. It was impossible to visit his people in their homes at this time for scarcely a door would be opened to him.¹

"What was to be done?" writes Simeon in his own account of these years. "If those whose minds were impressed by my preaching had not some opportunity of further instruction, they would infallibly go to the dissenting meetings and thus be gradually drawn away from the Church. The only alternative I had was to make them meet in a private room. I therefore hired a small room in my parish and met them there and expounded to them the scripture and prayed with them. In time the room was too small to hold us all and I could not get one larger in my parish: I therefore got one in an adjoining parish which had the advantage of being very spacious and very retired. Here I met my people for a considerable time. I was sensible that it would be regarded by many as irregular: but what was to be done? I could not instruct them in my church: and I must of necessity have them all drawn away by the dissenters if I did not meet them myself. . . . The persecutions in my parish continued and increased; but during the space of many years no persecution whatever arose from that room though confessedly it was the side on which my enemies might have attacked me with most effect."²

The opposition gradually weakened as the congregation realised the true worth of their Vicar. The undergraduates, however, for a time added to his anxieties. "At first and for several years," writes Simeon, "the keeping of order in my church

¹ Moule, 37-38.

² Carus, pp. 45, 46.

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was attended with considerable difficulty. The novelty of an evening service, in a parish church in Cambridge, attracted some attention. In the College Chapels it was no novelty : but in a parish church it conveyed at once the impression that it must be established for the advancement of true religion or what the world would call Methodism. Hence it is not to be wondered at that it should be regarded with jealousy by some and with contempt by others : or that young gownsmen who even in their own chapels show little more reverence for God than they would in a playhouse, should often enter in to disturb our worship. This for some years was done frequently and as, on some complaints being made to the tutors of one or two colleges, I found that I had nothing to hope for from the University, I was forced to take the matter into my own hands. Accordingly I appointed persons to stand with wands in all the aisles, and as the chief disturbance was generally made when the congregation was leaving the church I always went down from my pulpit the moment the service was finished and stood at the great North door, ready to apprehend any gownsman who should insult those who had been at church.”¹

After some twelve years the opposition largely died down and in 1794 the separate lectureship for the curate was abolished and the office given to Simeon who more and more won a commanding position in the town and the University by his forceful preaching and his magnetic personality. The secret of his spiritual power is given in a note from

¹ Carus, p. 88.

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his friend Housman of Lancaster to his biographer Carus. "During the period of his residence at King's, Mr. Simeon invariably rose every morning, though it was the winter season, at four o'clock and after lighting his fire he devoted the first four hours of the day to private prayer and the devotional reading of the Scriptures. Here was the secret of his great grace and spiritual strength. Deriving instruction from such a source and seeking it with such diligence he was comforted in all his trials and prepared for every duty."¹

His preaching was the great means by which he won disciples for his Master, and the great importance which he attached to this may be gathered from the fact that the collected edition of his sermons published in 1833 contains the skeletons of no less than 2,536 sermons in twenty-one volumes. They cover the whole of the Bible and show an enormous amount of industry and a marvellously intimate knowledge of Scripture. They are all based on the verbal inspiration of the whole Bible. "My endeavour," he writes, "is to bring out of Scripture what is there and not to thrust in what I think might be there. I have a great jealousy on this head : never to speak more or less than I believe to be the mind of the Spirit in the passage I am expounding."² The sermons were meant to help the younger clergy in the preparation of their sermons and the author in his preface shows his loyalty to every word in the inspired book. "The Author," he writes, "is no friend to systematisers in theology. He has endeavoured to derive from the Scriptures alone his

¹ Carus, p. 67.

² Carus, p. 203.

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views of religion and to them it is his wish to adhere with scrupulous fidelity ; never wresting any portion of the Word of God to favour a particular opinion, but giving to every part of it that sense which it seems to him to have been designed by its Great Author to convey.”¹

Let us make one or two extracts from this library of sermons which he called *Horæ Homileticæ*. Explaining our Lord’s call to the four Apostles in St. Matthew iv, 18-22, he says : “ To embrace Christ’s religion we cannot follow Christ one single step without first coming to him as the Saviour of the World. We must regard him as the true Messiah ; we must view him as invested with all power in heaven and earth that he might redeem us to God by his blood and deliver us by his almighty grace. It is not merely to give an assent to certain truths that we are called but to realise them and live upon them.”²

Sermon 1,336 on St. Matthew viii, 19-22, shows “ how we are to follow Christ,” and draws an interesting lesson from the scribe and the disciple mentioned there. “ One would have supposed that in such a history as that of our Lord none but great things would have been recorded and that smaller incidents would be passed over as unworthy of notice. But the inspired writers, notwithstanding an inexhaustible fund of matter presented itself to their view and they had previously determined to be as concise as possible, were directed by God to relate many circumstances which to us would have appeared too insignificant to be mentioned in such

¹ Carus, p. 528.

² *Horæ Homileticæ*, 1287. Vol. XI, 42.

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a work. And for this we have abundant reason to be thankful : for had any other plan been followed, the Scriptures would have been less contemplated for general use. Great events occur but rarely and to few, whereas small circumstances arise daily and hourly, nor is there anyone to whom they may not profitably be applied. The short conversations recorded in the text appear of little moment, yet they are singularly instructive and applicable to every human being. They serve in a peculiar manner to put us on our guard against two destructive errors, precipitancy on the one hand, and procrastination on the other.”¹

Or again, in explaining St. Paul’s conversion as described in Galatians i, 15, 16, he says : “ As respects the revelation of Christ to the soul conversion is the same in all. There may be a preparatory work of conviction without this but no conversion : for in this consists the essence of conversion if we may so speak. The revelation given in the Scriptures may inform the mind but it is the revelation made to the soul that can alone convert and save the soul. If we are savingly enlightened it is because God has ‘ opened the eyes of our understanding and given us the Spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of his Son.’ ”²

In explaining the first verse in St. John’s Gospel he gives his reason for believing in the Divinity of our Lord in these words : “ I wonder not at the unbelief of those who call in question the Divinity of Christ ; for if it were not so fully revealed as that

¹ *Horæ Homileticæ.* Vol. XI, 288.

² *Op. cit.*, 2052. Vol. XVII, 26.

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it is impossible for a truly enlightened man to doubt it, I should be ready to doubt it myself; so inconceivable does it appear that God should become a man and make himself the surety and substitute of his own rebellious creatures. But he is God and therefore can do it: he is God and therefore cannot be judged by the finite capacity of man. In doing what he has done he has acted like himself. He is God and therefore I believe all that he has done for sinful man.”¹

As a preacher Simeon was always vigorous and the size of his congregations increased as the years went on. Yet this makes one omission from his sermons all the more remarkable. There is hardly an allusion, by way of illustration or comment, to the thrilling events which were going on during these years. God’s work in the world of his own day was a fact that was apart from the scriptural teaching, which the preacher set out to give, and therefore he leaves it out.

Simeon as a parish priest was a diligent visitor once the first opposition was over and he knew how to organise through other people. “The Clergyman,” he writes in 1829, “must be the Pastor. The giving himself to the Word of God and prayer seems to me to be his peculiar duty and the paternal part—of administering relief, etc.—should, I think, be delegated to others under his superintendence, as Moses delegated many of his duties to the seventy employed by him. This is what I myself have done for nearly fifty years: I have thirty (male and female) in their different districts and

¹ *Hora Homiletica*, 1594. Vol. XIII, 189.

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I preach an annual sermon in aid of their efforts.”¹

He also regarded himself as in a special sense the pastor of the undergraduates of his time, especially those who attended his church as they did in increasing numbers. He had “Conversation Parties” for them on Friday evenings in his rooms at King’s and discussed with them religious questions and taught them informally the Christian faith. He gave much wise advice to those who intended to be ordained. What he says, for instance, about preaching is interesting. “I do not advise any young Minister to preach extempore until he has preached three or four hundred written sermons : until he has been at least three or four years preaching. Let him speak, meanwhile, extempore, in his workhouse or schoolroom addresses, the same sermon which he has delivered in church in writing. He will thus acquire the habit of speaking easily and efficiently. After a few years let him drop the fully written sermon for copious notes and then gradually pass to extempore speaking. Carefully let him avoid anything like slovenly preparation.”²

It is interesting to see something of Simeon’s life as revealed in his diary. In 1807 he was unwell and travelled to Lynn where on March 6th he writes : “ I think I got stronger by means of my journey to Lynn, and I am convinced I got good to my soul. I doubt whether I ever spent ten days together more profitably with respect to my own soul. I enjoyed

¹ Carus, p. 638.

² A. W. Brown. *Recollections of the Conversation Parties of the Rev. Charles Simeon*, p. 178.

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on the whole more communion with God than usual and there was more of an unction upon my own spirit.”¹ When in 1812 it was a question whether he was to be appointed a University Preacher, for the next year he writes to his friend Thomason : “ As for myself I do not move a finger in the business. I know sufficiently in whose hands all these matters are. If God say, ‘ Whom shall I send ? ’ I have the prophet’s answer ready. But if he say, ‘ I have no delight in thee,’ I am equally prepared with David’s answer, ‘ Let Him do as seemeth Him good.’ How sweet it is to be assured that God reigneth ! Well may faith be called ‘ precious faith,’ when it so composes the mind under all circumstances.”² In 1819 he describes his own religious experience thus : “ It is now a little above forty years since I began to seek after God and within about three months of that time after much humiliation and prayer I found peace through that Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world. . . . From that time to the present hour I have never for a moment lost my hope and confidence in my adorable Saviour, for though alas I have had deep and abundant cause for humiliation, I have never ceased to wash in that fountain that was opened for sin and uncleanness or to cast myself upon the tender mercy of my reconciled God.”³ These and other passages like them just show how the man’s faith in and love for his unseen Lord, based on his gratitude for his forgiveness and for his salvation were passing out into a life spent in trying to tell others about the same love which Christ

¹ Carus, p. 216.

² Carus, p. 351.

³ Carus, p. 518.

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had for them. This was the good news of Evangelicalism.

There were three great interests which bound Simeon to the religious world outside Cambridge. The first of these was the Church Missionary Society for the foundation of which in 1799 he was largely responsible. He was also instrumental in providing chaplains for the East India Company, whose work was confined to the Europeans, and whom the company did not allow to work among the natives. Henry Martyn went out as one of these chaplains in 1805, and Thomas Thomason followed in 1808. Simeon was active in helping the Church Missionary Society, which at first made use of Lutheran missionaries, to send out Englishmen, and was therefore delighted at the appointment of T. F. Middleton as first Bishop of Calcutta in 1814.

The second outside interest was the spread of Christianity among the Jews. The London Society for propagating Christianity among the Jews received a new lease of life by being handed over to members of the Church of England and its finances and organisation were controlled by Simeon and his wealthy friend Mr. Way in 1815.¹ For the rest of his life Simeon was an active supporter of the re-organised society and often went about England and some parts of Scotland and the Continent to further the cause of the conversion of God's ancient people to Christianity.

The third outside interest was that remarkable group of Evangelical laymen known as "the Clapham Sect." With William Wilberforce, their leader,

¹ Carus, p. 412.

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Simeon was on terms of warm friendship. Near him lived Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Henry Thornton the Banker, James Stephen the ancestor of great men, and Charles Grant. They rallied round John Venn as their Rector from 1792-1813, the son of Simeon's old friend and teacher at Yelling. This little group of men found in their Evangelical beliefs the inspiration by which they abolished the slave trade in 1807, and the possession of slaves in 1833; they were interested in the reform of the prisons and they stood behind the Church Missionary Society in its early years. To them Simeon came on frequent visits as a leader and prophet.

As the nineteenth century went on Simeon's position in Cambridge was more and more assured. Others like-minded with himself were taking the lead in the religious life of the University. Isaac Milner, President of Queens', Professor Farish of Magdalene, and others were making Cambridge an Evangelical centre. Simeon was spending money on buying up the advowsons of livings in busy parts of the country in order that Evangelical teaching might be given in perpetuity. In 1832 he celebrated his jubilee as Vicar of Holy Trinity and in 1836 he died at the age of 77, greatly respected, popular, and recognised as a real leader of men and a servant of God. His monument in his old church truly sums up his life's work when it says of him that he "whether as the ground of his own hopes or as the subject of all his Ministraions determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified."¹

What is the permanent value of Simeon's life and

¹ Carus, p. 832.

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his Evangelical teaching ? So far as my experience goes I believe that here lies still the very heart of our Christian appeal. There is an overwhelming consciousness of the mystery of life among men to-day and the prevailing attitude towards religion is doubt. Thoughtful men are in doubt about God, His nature and His attributes. There are many views about Him in consequence, and to many a suspension of judgment about religion in general and Christianity in particular seems to be the only reasonable attitude to adopt. Men are able to busy themselves about particular ideals without concerning themselves with the Being in Whom these ideals are fulfilled. The philanthropist is often concerned with the improvement of the material lot of the worker, the artist is often satisfied with the pursuit of beauty, the philosopher seems hardly to expect to find the truth for which he searches, the average busy man says that if he does his duty and is kind to other people he has found the secret of a good life. This means the exaltation of good sportsmanship into a creed of morals with God dimly in the background on the side of decent behaviour. Over all life the shadow of the Great War still rests and the old beliefs and axioms are being questioned, and wounded lives and broken hearts make the belief in the love of God a subject of fierce debate.

In such a world as this the task of the clergy is harder than ever before. There are fewer of us than there used to be and the tasks which are laid upon us are more varied and complicated than ever. The supply of candidates for ordination is growing less and the sense of religious adventure that comes with

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youth is touching a smaller number of men. It is hard to fill the gaps in the ranks as they occur and among many of us in the towns there is a sense of the weariness that comes from being overworked. Faced with the world's problems and conscious of our own weakness some of us are chiefly worried about the right way to spend our time. We want to help the world but we sometimes doubt if we can really save it. The old certainties of our fathers seem to be a little less downright for us. The day after all, for us as for others, has only twenty-four hours, and there are so many ways in which we can spend them. How much time shall we give to prayer and meditation? Can we find time for reading regularly every day? Is it the various parish organisations that matter most or shall we throw our energies into daily visiting? Shall we try and be all things to all men or are we definitely to try to win the souls of all with whom we come in contact? Are we to give sermons which are short and rather daring, or shall we see in preaching the great means by which men's hearts can be changed? These and other questions crowd in upon us. We are God's messengers, but we are not sure of the terms in which to state our message in words that will grip the hearts of the men and women of the twentieth century. What we really want and wait to see is a religious revival if only we might be able to prepare the way for it, and listen for the sound of the coming of the Master's feet.

Then once more we catch the inspiration which we need from these Evangelicals of a hundred years ago. For them the one great certainty was Jesus

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Christ. Charles Wesley's hymn expressed their Christianity :

Jesu, Lover of my soul,
Let me to thy bosom fly,
While the gathering waters roll,
While the tempest still is high ;
Hide me, O my Saviour, hide,
Till the storm of life is past ;
Safe into the haven guide,
O receive my soul at last.

The knowledge that the Son of God loved them and gave Himself for them was the basis of their religion. It is that certainty that we want to recover to-day. The common mistake is to think that the search for God rests with men and that some find Him and many fail to do so. Men say that the ideas about God depend on the culture and the standard of civilisation and the education of the seeker. But the Evangelical began with the answer to the problem already provided. It was not that he had to search for God, but that the Son of God had searched for him and found him. From that everything else followed.

I believe that this is fundamentally true to-day. Our doubting, troubled world to-day needs a Gospel, a good news, more than was ever the case in the past. The good news is still the same to-day as it was in Simeon's time, that the Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost. The means by which we clergy to-day are going to win the world to God is by remembering how the first Christian disciples were made. Peter and Andrew, James and John, were ordinary, thoughtful, earnest

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men. But their search for God would by itself never have made them Christians. Jesus Christ came and stood beside them at their work and said to them personally, "Follow me," and the simple result was that they left all and followed Him. That was the original Gospel and that was what the Evangelicals believed had happened to themselves. With that we can still turn the world upside down.

The terminology of the Evangelicals is a little out of fashion to-day, yet it seems to me to express what is needed in a revival of religion to-day. Conversion is the word by which we express the realisation by a man that Christ is seeking for him and has found him. Many people hear about God and Christ, and can discuss the possibility and the meaning of the Incarnation. But to be conscious that God has wanted him and found him is to be born again. It is to understand the meaning of the words : "This is life eternal that they might know Thee, the only true God and Jesus Christ, Whom Thou hast sent."¹

But conversion brings with it another Evangelical word, Repentance, or renunciation of sin. A hundred years ago men were conscious of being sinners, and desired to be forgiven. It has been said that the modern man is not worrying about his sins. This is to a large extent true. But it is equally true that many modern men are worrying about other people's sins. Many social reformers to-day are conscious of social wrongs, long hours, low wages, shortage of houses and the evils of competition. The knowledge of these evils produces righteous

¹ John, xvii, 3.

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indignation against those who are responsible for them. But the blame is generally laid on someone other than the reformer himself. It is not easy to take or even share the blame and cry "God be merciful to me a sinner." Yet that is what repentance means. The more modern name for sin is selfishness. It is easy to see selfishness in others. But the penitent Christian sees it in himself, and longs to be rid of it.

This leads on to another Evangelical doctrine, that of Sanctification by the Holy Spirit. That is a word which has been mixed up with another word sometimes connected with it, "sanctimonious," and it has therefore become unpopular. Yet it really stands for a great need in the modern world. Some leaders of thought to-day deliberately aim at the reform of the world by the improvement of the circumstances in which men live. "Remove the hindrances to a good life caused by poverty," they say, "and you will improve the character of the race." Yet wealth and comfort have never necessarily produced goodness. Jesus Christ on the other hand set out to change men's hearts and characters rather than their circumstances and their standard of comfort. When a man has become conscious that the Son of Man has come to seek and save him, he realises his own selfishness and then by the power of God's Spirit in his heart he becomes unselfish, poor in spirit, meek and Christlike. It is the man who is changed, rather than his surroundings. If we had many men like this in the industrial world to-day all our labour unrest would be ended.

The Evangelicals based all their teaching on the

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Infallibility of Holy Scripture as the Word of God. It may be objected that in the light of modern science and historical criticism we cannot so implicitly trust the Bible to-day. I hope later on to say more about this subject. Suffice it to say now that just because we have learnt more about the human element in the Bible we have also realised far more about the unique importance of the Person of Jesus Christ to whom the whole of the Bible points. The Divinity of our Lord is a much discussed subject, but whatever we may understand by inspiration, the more we read the Bible, the more we are brought face to face with Him. As He Himself said, “Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life and they are they which testify of Me.”¹ Modern criticism of the Bible, honestly studied, only brings us back, as I believe, to the feet of Christ as the Saviour of the World. There in 1927 we can kneel as Simeon knelt in 1827.

The Evangelicals laid great stress on preaching. The world is in great need to-day of preachers. We have neglected this part of the Church’s work. We have improved our services, we have increased the number of our parochial organisations, we have widened our outlook upon the work of the Church throughout the world. But on the whole we are not laying enough stress on good preaching. Christ won the multitudes by his preaching, St. Paul was pre-eminently a preacher and the first Apostles went about preaching the good news of the Kingdom of God. Simeon and his friends believed in the power of preaching as the appointed means to save men’s

¹ John, v, 39.

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souls. His 2,536 sermons are not much read to-day, but they are a witness to the importance which they placed on the sermon in the work of evangelisation. We want to cultivate the art of preaching. If to-day sermons must be shorter than they once were, they should be all the more carefully prepared and stimulating. Like those of the Evangelicals they should be Scriptural. Often to-day our sermons are vague and ineffective because Scripture proof is out of fashion. We need to go back once more to the Bible as the Word of God and from the theology and the history and the philosophy we find there to preach once more in such a way that men cannot help but listen.

There is one other important element in the Evangelical teaching which needs emphasis to-day. Its great aim was to make laymen and laywomen Christians. It did not lay great stress on the clergy whom it spoke of as pastors and ministers rather than priests and deacons. It tried to make daily life holy, and it thought almost as much of prayer at home in the family or by the individual as it did of the Common Prayer in the church. It brought the individual close up to his divine Lord in his daily life. Faith and prayer and peace and sanctification were all assumed to follow conversion. Nothing was allowed to come between the forgiven sinner and his full enjoyment of his Lord's love by faith. No church services, no priest, no sacrament were allowed to weaken this sense of the close relationship of the disciple and his Lord. I think we need to recover that joyful sense of the abiding presence of Christ with His followers in their homes and

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their shops and their offices, for it may be in danger of being weakened if we lay too much stress upon His presence in church and in our services there. I suggest that one of the real dangers to a strong active Christianity to-day is the belief among many people that God is closer to us in church than He is at home. The Evangelicals of a century ago found Him as close to them at home as anywhere else.

It was a glorious message that the Evangelicals gave and that we have still to give. The world was changing in that later eighteenth and earlier nineteenth century as it is doing to-day. The effects of the new inventions were beginning to raise the standard of life among the workmen in England, while the misgovernment in France was making the poverty of the peasantry unbearable. In both countries the demand for material betterment was likely to lead to the neglect of the spiritual needs of those who worked with their hands. In France the Church was careless about the satisfaction of those needs, and a new philosophy arose when Voltaire set to work to decry Christianity. Rousseau in his *Social Contract* seemed to have something positive to offer in pointing men back to a sentimental good-will imagined to exist in the first ages of man before it was spoiled by creeds and ecclesiastical institutions. When action followed to carry out these ideas, as it came with the cry of "Liberty, Fraternity and Equality" in the French Revolution, it revealed the elementary passions of men in a wild desire for selfish gratification and revenge. Instead of this in England had come the teaching of Methodism and Evangelicalism. Objections may be made against it,

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but the facts are there. England with a new industrial class, rough, out of reach of the Church and refinement, was won and kept for Christ by this revival of Christianity. It was not the learned, not the well-to-do, not the women who were touched, but the rough, poor and ignorant men. These men with their families were conscious of the presence of their divine Lord in their lives, in their homes and at their work. They knew that what was still hard to bear here would be put right in the heaven to which they knew that they would go after this life. This is the fact which attests the truth and importance of Evangelicalism. With this lay Christianity England began its history in the nineteenth century, and to this fact is mainly due the religious earnestness which is characteristic of England in the nineteenth century, both in our national life and in our international policy. It is something for which, as Englishmen, we must ever be thankful and remember that, in any scheme of religious union in the future, Evangelicalism must play its part both because of what it is and what it has done.

Yet with all its wonderful power the system of Christianity which Simeon proclaimed had three limitations which had to be rectified later in the century. First, it based everything rightly on faith, but it laid so much stress on the individual that it belittled the Church. It realised the contrast of the Church and the world, but regarded the Church rather as a collection of individuals who were converted and saved from the world than as a divinely appointed body whose mission it was to win the world to its Master through the united strength

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which he had given it. Second, it tended to lay stress on the emotions as the basis of religion. Conversion meant a conscious and generally sudden realisation of the love of God and the beginning of a new spiritual life. But the danger was that too much stress would be laid on being conscious of love, joy, peace and faith and hope. Depression was easy if this consciousness for any reason declined. The responsibility for religion was in some cases almost transferred from God to the individual. Thirdly, the security for this saving faith was the infallible Bible. This was unquestioned for the first half of the century, but when in the second half criticism began to make its voice heard in England the Evangelical world at first made no terms with it, and clung desperately to some positions which gradually had to be given up. In this way for a time Evangelicalism lost touch with the best Christian scholarship and Christianity in England lost by what seemed to be a breach between the devotional and the intellectual sides of religion.

So we must leave Charles Simeon and his fellow-workers. There is something fitting in opening this course of lectures at Cambridge by the story of religious life in this University a century ago. There was doubt about and opposition to Christianity then as there is to-day. Simeon did much by the grace of God to help on a religious revival which kept England Christian, by sending out clergymen from Cambridge to take the lead in the parishes all over the country. May God send out many from Cambridge to-day to bring to a world that needs good news, the glorious gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

II

JOHN KEBLE

The storm is o'er—and hark ! a still small voice
Steals on the ear, to say, Jehovah's choice
 Is ever with the soft, meek, tender soul.
By soft, meek, tender ways He loves to draw
The sinner, startled by His ways of awe :
 Here is our Lord, and not where thunders roll.

Go, to the world return, nor fear to cast
Thy bread upon the waters, sure at last
 In joy to find it after many days.
The work be thine, the fruit thy children's part.
Choose to believe, not see : sight tempts the
 heart
From sober walking in true Gospel ways.

—Keble : *The Christian Year*,
 Ninth Sunday after Trinity.

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IN order to understand the work of John Keble whom we are to consider to-day, it is necessary to know something of the times in which he lived. There is a wonderful parallel between those days and our own for the great fact that is common to both is the recovery of Europe from a great war. For twenty-three years (1792-1815) Europe, including England, had been struggling with, or subject to, the France of the Revolution and Napoleon, and it was hoped and believed that a new era of peace would dawn with the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815), and the final defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo. The thought of Revolution was a terror to the rulers of Europe. To the Church on the Continent and in England it stood for atheism. The great need was for peace and safety. Two paths towards the attainment of this ideal seemed to open out before the rulers in Church and state alike. One was by means of reaction and the return as far as possible to what had been in existence before 1789, and those who took this path had their eyes turned backwards to the past. The other way was by what was known as Liberalism, which stood for nationality with self-government in the life of Europe, liberty for the individual and greater freedom of thought in the Church.

The great fact in the life of Europe during these

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years was the Holy Alliance. This was the name given to the four great Powers who conquered Napoleon and tried at first to rule Europe together, Russia under the Tsar Alexander I, Austria under Prince Metternich, Prussia under Frederick William III, and England as represented by her foreign minister, Lord Castlereagh. At the Congress of Vienna they took Talleyrand's word "Legitimacy," as their rule, by which to undo the effects of the rule of Napoleon and in his place they restored themselves and their dependent allies as legitimate sovereigns with absolute power. The Holy Alliance was at first maintained by Conferences of the Allies which met from time to time to secure the continuance of its power. Metternich surveyed a Europe which seemed to be safe from the dangers of self-government and liberty.

But a wave of Liberalism swept over the Continent in 1820. The murder of the Duc de Berri, the heir to the throne of France, was regarded as the signal for a revolutionary plot and stringent measures were taken by the Government to restrict the franchise and the press. In the same year there were revolts in the armies in Spain and Portugal and Naples, in each of which demands were made for a Parliament and a constitutional government. Lord Castlereagh, whose sympathies were largely with the Holy Alliance though he could not agree with their methods, died, and was succeeded as Foreign Minister by George Canning. Canning acted as a Tory at home, but he favoured the cause of liberty and nationality abroad in opposition to the Holy Alliance. His reply to the suppression of liberty in

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Spain by the action of France was to recognise in 1824 the independence from their mother country of the Spanish colonies in South America and thereby, as he proudly said, he "created a new world to redress the balance of the old." In the rest of Europe liberty and self-government were sternly repressed.

France, once the home of revolution, became, under her Bourbon king, Charles X, the home of reaction, until in 1830 came another revolution in which Charles was replaced by his cousin Louis Philippe, who came to power as a definitely liberal and constitutional Sovereign. France and England as the Liberal Powers now acted together against the Conservative Powers, Austria, Prussia and Russia. Liberalism had taken a great step forward and the example of France was in due time to be followed by other countries.

This movement for liberty against reaction which was beginning to make itself felt in Europe was producing similar effects in England. But here the results were of a different order as England already knew more about liberty than any other country. Our constitution dated from 1689 when government by King and Parliament had been secured and the Church of England had registered her triumph over the Puritans by remaining as the Established Church, but had granted toleration, limited by civil disabilities, to the Nonconformists. This state of affairs had lasted through the eighteenth century in spite of several efforts to alter it. The industrial revolution had brought about many changes in the life of the nation and the distribution of the population. But no change was made in the Parliamentary

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franchise or in the relations between the Church and the Dissenters. Any tendencies to change were checked by the need for concentration on the struggle with France. With the peace of 1815 the need of some kind of change became at once apparent. But the French Revolution had inspired England with even more terror of liberalism and freedom than it had abroad. The good is always the enemy of the best. Many of the most thoughtful leaders honestly felt that we had found the true combination of orders and progress in the institutions left to us by the Glorious Revolution of 1689, and that our wisdom was to preserve intact what we had inherited, and so to avoid the extremes of reaction and liberty, the evil results of which the Continent had only too vividly shown us. To others, the fact that we had attained to some measure of liberty was a reason for believing that there must be progress in liberty both in Church and State. We could not stay where our fathers had arrived in 1689. If we boasted that we were a free people we must adjust our constitution and our Church to meet the new conditions at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The rivalry of these two points of view gives us the clue to the history of the years 1815-1850.

At the close of the war with France Lord Liverpool was Prime Minister at the head of a Tory Government. The great problem which faced him was the readjustment of national life to the conditions of peace after a long period of war. There was a great deal of distress in the manufacturing districts and an unprecedented amount of unemployment.

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Riots broke out in many places which were often suppressed by soldiers. The Tories at home, like Metternich abroad, were actuated by a fear of anything like liberty, and in consequence things seemed to be going from bad to worse. In 1821 a change for the better came when Peel succeeded Lord Sidmouth as Home Secretary. In 1822 he was joined by George Canning, in place of Lord Castlereagh as Foreign Secretary. The first sign of the abandonment of the policy of reaction was the repeal of the Combination Law in 1824, by which meetings and more permanent combinations of workmen became legal. In 1828 the Duke of Wellington, an uncompromising Tory, became Prime Minister with Peel again as Home Secretary and leader of the House of Commons.

Three questions faced the new ministry, Catholic Emancipation, the removal of the civil disabilities of the Nonconformists, and Parliamentary Reform, to all of which Wellington and Peel were opposed, and for which the champions were the two leaders of the Whigs, Earl Grey and Lord John Russell. In 1828 Parliament repealed the Test and Corporation Acts, which meant that the privileged position of the Church of England with regard to the Nonconformists in public life was abolished. Parliament was no longer an Anglican body, but Nonconformists were free to take their share in governing the country. Legislation affecting the Church was not likely to be so sympathetic in the future as in the past. A Nonconformist might become Prime Minister and control the appointment of Bishops. So, too, in municipal life, with Nonconformists on

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corporations and other civic bodies, Church interests might be checked by new opponents. The one important place in the national life, where the Church still maintained its exclusive privileges, was the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. A long struggle was to come before these two were thrown open to all. In 1829 came the Bill which granted Catholic emancipation. By this Roman Catholics became eligible for seats in Parliament, and for all offices except one or two of special importance. But many members of the Church of England were frightened. It was a great change. For three hundred years the Pope and the Roman Church were hated and feared as the enemies of England and the Reformation. Now suddenly and for the sake of the political needs of Ireland the defence against Rome was removed. It was no wonder that many who loved their church should feel uneasy about the future.

In 1832 came the great Reform Bill, which was the first solution which England found for the unrest after the end of the war. The Tories had regarded the existing Parliament as thoroughly satisfactory but the Whig leaders demanded its reform in order that it might be more representative of the industrial middle class which had come into being with the changes of the later eighteenth century. In 1832 the Bill passed both Houses after the famous secession of the Duke of Wellington and his Tory friends in the House of Lords. This was the third and last great step towards liberty. Reform was in the air. Liberalism was conscious of its ideals and its power. All abuses in the national life must be

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reformed. In 1833 slavery was abolished and the first Factory Act to limit the hours of work by children in factories was passed. In the same year the number of Irish bishoprics was reduced from twenty-two to twelve in order to reduce the grievance of the payment of tithe to the Protestant Church by Roman Catholics. The first Poor Law creating modern workhouses and abolishing outdoor relief was passed in 1834. In that year the King, who was afraid of this reforming zeal, dismissed the government and called on Sir Robert Peel to form a ministry.

Liberalism had done much for England and done it well. It had avoided the extremes of reaction and revolution and had learnt to give moderate and constitutional liberty to the people. But there was a danger of this liberty going too fast and too far. One of the people who was afraid of this was Keble. Without the background of the years 1815 to 1833 the Tractarian movement cannot be understood. Metternich and the Liberals on the Continent, Wellington and the Liberals at home, were regarded as the representatives of right and wrong by some of the leaders of religion at home and abroad. What would the effect of all these new ideas be on the Church of God?

John Keble was born on April 25th, 1792, the elder son of the Rev. John Keble who, after being a Scholar and Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, had married and settled down in Gloucestershire as Vicar of Coln St. Aldwyn's, though he lived in the neighbouring village of Fairford. John was educated by his father at home and grew up

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in the atmosphere of a country vicarage. This gave him his ideal of life and was very important in its influence on his later life. He was very fond of his parents, his brother Tom and his sisters Elizabeth and Mary Ann. He put the claims of his family before everything else and sacrificed much afterwards in order to be near his father. He grew up without going to school and thereby missed all the strengthening of character that comes from the rough and tumble of life with other boys. At the early age of fourteen he went up to Oxford as a scholar of Corpus Christi, his father's old College, in 1807. It was a small college which lent itself to close intimacies and was known as a centre of hard work. Some of Keble's friends became afterwards, like himself, cultured country clergymen with whom he kept in touch for several years. One exception was Thomas Arnold who was elected scholar in 1811, from whom afterwards Keble differed widely, but with whom he always maintained a real friendship. In 1810 at the age of eighteen Keble obtained the rare distinction of a double first-class in Classics and Mathematics and was elected to an open Fellowship at Oriel College in 1811, just before he reached the age of nineteen. In 1812 he gained both the Chancellor's Essay Prizes, English and Latin. It was the most brilliant academical record of his time.¹ He had no definite college work at first but occupied himself with examining in the final schools and with taking pupils. His reading was wide and varied, but he was more and more finding his chief interest in theology and he determined to take Holy Orders in

¹ Coleridge. *Memoir of the Rev. John Keble*, pp. 48, 49.

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spite of his own sense of unworthiness. He was ordained deacon at the age of twenty-three in 1815, and priest in 1816, on the strength of his Fellowship. "Pray for me," he writes to his friend and biographer, Sir J. T. Coleridge, "that I may not pollute God's altar with irregular, worldly minded, self-complacent thoughts. Pray for me that I may free myself from all pride, all ambition, all uncharitableness."¹ He took temporary duty for some months at Burthorpe near his father at Coln, but was recalled to Oxford in 1817 as Tutor at Oriel.² "I thought at first," he writes, "it would be a very uncomfortable thing to me to give up my cure and become an Academic again, but I get more and more reconciled to it every day. You consider tuition as a species of pastoral care, do you not? Otherwise it might seem questionable whether a clergyman ought to leave a cure of souls for it."³

Keble retained his office for six years till 1823. During this period he made the acquaintance of Wordsworth, Southey and Heber.⁴ His own poetic powers were reaching their maturity and some of the best poems that he afterwards published date from this time.⁵ Oriel then attracted a strong staff of fellows and Keble, though shy and modest, was a leader among them. Yet he never felt at home in Oxford as he did in his home and his country curacy. "He never repented," says his biographer, "of the time which he spent as tutor at Oriel: he felt no doubt that though he was diverted from the main plan of his life and to a certain extent lost what

¹ *Memoir*, p. 59.

² *Memoir*, p. 72.

³ *Memoir*, p. 73.

⁴ *Memoir*, pp. 92, 95.

⁵ Lock. *John Keble*, p. 15.

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he valued so dearly, the full care of his curacies and the society of home, he was yet discharging a duty which he owed to his college.”¹

His churchmanship was growing clearer during these years. He was dissatisfied with Evangelicalism as resting too much upon the feelings and with the Latitudinarianism of the eighteenth century as being too intellectual and easy-going. “He fell back upon the conception of the Church which he had inherited from his father, as of a body independent of the State, founded by the Lord Himself, perpetuated by direct succession from the Apostles, one in continuous history and in doctrine with the primitive Church, filled with a supernatural and sacramental life, witnessing to a high moral standard before the world. Such a conception fired him with indignation at State encroachments, at neglect of discipline and doctrine, at the prevailing worldliness of tone and it made him doubt the wisdom of much that the Reformers had done.”²

In 1823 he left Oxford to become Curate of Southrop near Fairford where he took pupils, among others Robert Wilberforce, afterwards Tutor of Oriel, Isaac Williams, afterwards Fellow of Trinity, and Richard Hurrell Froude, afterwards Tutor of Oriel and the link between Keble and Newman.³ In 1826 his favourite sister, Mary Ann, died, and Keble felt that his father, left a widower in 1823, and his sister needed his help. He therefore returned to Fairford and acted as his father’s curate till 1835 when his father died. These quiet years were disturbed in 1827 by two events. The first was

¹ *Memoir*, p. 77.

² Lock, p. 20.

³ Lock, p. 17.

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a vacancy in the Provostship at Oriel. Keble was an obvious candidate. Dr. Hawkins, a resident tutor, was another. The contest between them was likely to be a close one. Keble after some consideration came to the conclusion that he ought not to stand for the office and retired. He wrote to his friend Hurrell Froude, "I think I must with all possible love to you and others who think as you do decline (the office) altogether. . . . I have great doubts whether I should be so comfortable there as I am now, and I don't suppose he has any doubt at all. I have calls, as you know, elsewhere of a more pressing nature than he."¹ His modesty and love of the work of a country clergyman made him refuse even to be chosen by the governing body of his College for a position of leadership in Oxford at a time when Oxford needed his help and soon would need it more. As an instance of humility, it was splendid. Perhaps he would have been wiser to let the College choose its Head in the usual way and to abide by its decision.

The other event in 1827 was the publication of the *Christian Year*, the poems of which he had been gradually writing for several years. At first he had not meant to publish them but when his father expressed the wish that they should be given to the world, he yielded, though the author's name was not given. This book is not read now as it used to be, but some of the most familiar verses we find incorporated in most of our hymn books. From the poem on "Morning" come the lines :

¹ *Memoir*, p. 179.

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New every morning is the love
Our wakening and uprising prove ;
Through sleep and darkness safely brought
Restored to life and power and thought.

New mercies each returning day
Hover around us while we pray ;
New perils past, new sins forgiven,
New thoughts of God, new hopes of heaven.

From the poem on “Evening” come the verses :

’Tis gone, that bright and orbèd blaze
Fast fading from our wistful gaze :
Yon mantling cloud has hid from sight
The last faint pulse of quivering light.

In darkness and in weariness
The traveller on his way must press,
No gleam to watch on tree or tower,
Wiling away the lonesome hour.

Sun of my soul ! Thou Saviour dear,
It is not night if Thou be near :
Oh ! may no earth-born cloud arise
To hide Thee from Thy servant’s eyes.

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Abide with me from morn till eve,
For without Thee I cannot live :
Abide with me when night is nigh
For without Thee I dare not die.

The poem on Septuagesima is also very well known :

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There is a book Who runs may read,
Which heavenly Truth imparts,
And all the lore its scholars need,
Pure eyes and Christian hearts.

The works of God, above, below,
Within us and around
Are pages in that book to shew
How God Himself is found.

Such extracts serve to remind us of the debt our sacred poetry owes to Keble. It is not surprising that in 1831 he was elected Professor of Poetry at Oxford, an office which he held until 1841. During these years he gave lectures on ancient and modern poets and developed his ideas on the nature of poetry. In the same year 1831 he undertook to edit the works of Richard Hooker for the Clarendon Press and completed this undertaking in 1836. As time went on he realised more and more fully what the Catholic Church was and to what extent the Church of England formed part of it. His reading of the Early Fathers was very extensive and, though he acknowledged Hooker as his master, he found several points on which he criticised him and the other Reformers and wished for the restoration of some practices and doctrines which were abolished at the Reformation. He shows that the essential basis of the Church is Episcopacy. "It is undeniable that we may discern a marked distinction between the School of Hooker and that of Laud, Hammond, Leslie in the two next generations. He, as well as they, regarded the order of Bishops as being immediately and properly of Divine right : he as

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well as they laid down principles, which strictly followed up would make this claim exclusive. But he, in common with most of his contemporaries, shrank from the legitimate result of his own premises, the rather as the fulness of apostolical authority on this point had never come within his cognisance : whereas the next generation of divines entered on the subject fresh from the discovery of the genuine remains of St. Ignatius. He did not feel at liberty to press unreservedly, and develop in all its consequences, that part of the argument which they, taught by the primitive Church, regarded as the most vital and decisive : the necessity, namely, of the apostolical commission to the derivation of sacramental grace and to our mystical communion with Christ.”¹ These words sum up briefly and clearly Keble’s teaching about the Church and the Catholicity of the Church of England. His words in the same Preface about the relations of Church and State are equally important. “The proposition that the whole body of the Church is properly the subject in which power resides, is repeatedly acknowledged by Hooker himself, as indeed it was the received doctrine of all Protestants of his time. It seems to have been borrowed by analogy from the Roman Law of which the fundamental proposition is ‘Quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem.’ It is a remarkable fact that the liberal politics of modern days should delight to base themselves on the very same tenet which was the corner stone of the Cæsarean despotism of old.” (As regards the authority of the Bishops) Hooker recurs to the

¹ Keble’s edition of Hooker. Editor’s Preface, lxxxv.

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prime theory of government according to which “the Christian State being one with the Church, and the Sovereign by irrevocable cession the representative of the whole State, the same sovereign must necessarily in the last resort represent the whole Church also and overrule even the Apostles’ successors as well in legislation and jurisdiction as in nomination to offices.” It is true that in these large concessions to the civil power, Hooker always implies not only that those who exercise it are Christians, but also that they are sound and orthodox churchmen in complete communion with the Church which they claim to govern. Where that condition fails, on his own principles “the identity or union of Church and State is at an end, and the Church, as a distinct body, is free without breach of loyalty to elect officers, make laws, and decide causes for herself, no reference at all being had to the civil power.” “There is one fallacious proposition which Hooker’s reasoning and all Erastian reasoning implies, i.e. “that co-ordinate authorities are incompatible: that the Sovereign is not a sovereign if the Church is independent. Surely this is as untenable as if one denied the sovereignty of the King under the old constitution of England because the Houses of Lords and Commons had certain indefeasible privileges, independent of him.”¹

Here was the double problem which demanded a solution and here was the man who felt called upon to try and solve it. What was to be the relation of the Catholic Church in England to the new Liberal Government created by the Reform Bill of 1832?

¹ *Op. cit.*, lxxxv-lxxxviii.

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Was it possible that its past relations with the State had vitiated its title to be Catholic? The answer to these questions was to be given by the Oxford movement.

On July 16th, 1833, Keble preached his famous Assize Sermon before the University of Oxford in which he spoke of National Apostasy. The abolition of ten Irish sees by the Government was an act of spoliation which must be resisted by the Church. "I have ever considered and kept this day as the start of the religious movement of 1833," wrote Newman afterwards in his *Apologia*.¹ At the end of July some Oxford friends met at Hadleigh and determined on some united and active work in defence of the Church. Though Keble was not present he was in active sympathy with them. There were other meetings of these friends with Keble at Oxford and the result was the publication of the *Tracts for the Times*. The leaders were Keble, Newman, Hurrell Froude, William Palmer and Isaac Williams, all Fellows of their Colleges. The basis of action agreed upon is thus summed up by Lock : "considering that the only way of salvation is the partaking of the Body and Blood of our sacrificed Redeemer, that the means of this is the Holy Sacrament of His Supper, and the due security of this is His Apostolical commission, and that there is peculiar danger of this being slighted and disarmed, we pledge ourselves one to another, reserving our canonical obedience, to be on our watch for all opportunities of inculcating a due sense of this inestimable privilege : to provide and circulate books

¹ Lock, p. 80.

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and tracts to familiarise the imaginations of men with the idea : to attempt to revive among Churchmen the practice of daily common prayer and more frequent participation of the Lord's Supper : to resist any attempt to alter the Liturgy on any insufficient authority and to explain any points in discipline or worship which might be liable to be misunderstood.'¹

The Tracts were now issued in rapid succession in 1833 and the succeeding years up to 1841. At first they were short and forcible. Gradually they became longer and more scholarly. The chief contributor was Newman, though Keble took his share in them. One of his was No. 4, entitled "Adherence to the Apostolical Succession the Safest Course." "The Clergy are urged to take a higher view of their privilege as Christ's ordained ministers whose duty it is to convey the blessings of the Holy Feast. What if the doctrine is not absolutely certain ? It is at least probable : there are sufficient indications in the New Testament that it was Christ's will and that is sufficient for loyal followers who are content to be guided by the 'Lord's eye' without definite command."² At the end of 1833 Pusey, Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, joined the Tractarians and greatly increased their influence. The movement was steadily spreading ; but the opposition to this sacramental teaching was strong. Oxford was roused to take sides and the clergy up and down the country were awakened to a new sense of the divine nature of the Church to which they belonged. But inevitably a new question arose.

¹ Lock, pp. 82, 83.

² Lock, pp. 83, 84.

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If the Church of England was Catholic and possessed the Apostolic Succession through its Bishops, though it had purged itself of its errors at the Reformation, what was its relation to the Church of Rome which also claimed to be Catholic and Apostolic though it had not got rid of its mediæval errors? England in general, and Oxford in particular, were still Protestant enough to fear and hate Roman Catholicism, even though the legislature had just removed the disabilities of the Romanists a few years before. But the problem of the relation between the two Churches must be solved.

This is what Newman tried to do in Tract 90, issued in 1841. He attempted to show that the Thirty-Nine Articles did not rule out the really Catholic teaching of Rome, but only the unauthorised Romish and popular deductions from it. At once the storm burst. The issue of the Tracts was stopped, and the interpretation of the Articles adopted in the Tract was condemned by the Heads of Houses at Oxford and by the Bishops in their charges. Newman retired to Littlemore and in 1845 was formally received into the Church of Rome. The Tracts had done their work in emphasising the Catholic nature of the Church of England. But they had not made clear the relations with the Church of Rome, and between 1841 and 1845 many of the younger members of the party left the Church of their fathers for the Roman communion.

The secession of Newman was a great blow to Keble. The movement which had begun with such high hopes had ended in apparent disaster. But here Keble rose to the occasion and kept the wiser, more

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moderate men within the Church of England by his careful leadership. He had encouraged Newman to write Tract 90, but only to show the breadth of the Articles, not to give them a Roman complexion. His motto, now as ever, was "safety." It was his argument in tract No. 4. It was his argument after Tract 90. "He thought, and the thought was congenial to his humble, tender nature that the true question for himself was, Shall I be safe where I am ? This allowed him to admit all moral arguments into the enquiry. Was he to affirm that so many great and good men, whose writings had been his study, whose characters the objects of his love and admiration through life : or that his father, his mother, his sisters, all as he believed saints in heaven ; had lived and died out of the Church of Christ ?"¹ No, it was impossible. And with that thought in his mind he remained firm to the Church of England without wavering and the crisis of 1845 was safely passed.

The Oxford movement had faced the danger of revolutionary ideas and the new strength of Liberalism, not by political reaction, but by an appeal to primitive Christianity. Its leaders dreaded atheism and free thought and to save England from such ideas they sought to revive the power of the Church of England by renewing the half-forgotten belief in its Divine origin, the guarantee for which was episcopacy and the continuity of which was the grace administered in the sacraments. Here they thought they were on safe ground. They distrusted the emotionalism and the individualism which they

¹ Coleridge. *Memoir*, p. 311; Lock, p. 85.

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saw in Evangelicalism, and they thought that the trust in the Establishment of the earlier Latitudinarians lost sight of the divine basis of the Church altogether. The rediscovery of the Catholicity of the Church was their solution of the religious and political problems of their time and with this they set to work to bring about a religious revival in England.

Meanwhile Keble, who had more and more left the leadership of the Tractarian movement in Newman's hands up till 1841, had married and settled down in Hursley near Winchester, where he was Vicar from 1835 till his death in 1866. Here, under ideal conditions on a small scale, he could show how a country parish could fulfil the Catholic ideal. During the twenty-one years between Newman's secession and his own death Keble did not take a great part in the general life of the Church, although when questions of great importance were under discussion he defended the Catholic position of the Church against attacks. In 1850 for instance, in the Gotham case, when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council allowed a clergyman to remain in the Church while denying the doctrine that spiritual regeneration necessarily accompanied baptism, Keble was active in protest against the judgment. In 1853 Archdeacon Denison preached two sermons in Wells Cathedral on the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist for which he was condemned by the Archbishop of Canterbury. This led Keble to write a treatise on Eucharistical Adoration in 1857. "The argument starts from the premise that natural piety suggests adoration wherever Christ is present,

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and especially in this Sacrament because of the greatness of the gift given, of the individual character of the blessing and of the condescension of Christ in giving it.”¹ The publication of *Essays and Reviews* in 1860 provoked attacks on the writers by many clergymen and two prosecutions which were quashed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.² This acquittal roused Keble’s indignation, as he feared that the belief in the inspiration of the Bible was seriously threatened by the book.

His chief occupation and interest during these years was his parish. His friend, and for some years his curate, the Rev. Peter Young, writes of him : “ In his ministrations to the sick his prayers by the bedside were in each case a little office made for the occasion out of the prayers and collects and psalms of the Prayer Book. . . . In his pastoral work generally he had a very strong sense of the dignity of the priesthood. He held himself at the service of his parishioners at any time and almost for any purpose. . . . He was very plain-spoken, sometimes stern in his treatment of sinners where there were no signs of humility. . . . The lack of a regular system of discipline he tried to supply in such ways as he could. . . . Every member of his flock was a charge to him, but his main anxiety was for the young men and women and the very old. . . . He took great pains in preparing the young people for confirmation. His usual course was to go through in order, first the Baptismal Service, then the Catechism, then the Confirmation Service and lastly the Office for Holy Communion : he took a certain

¹ Lock, p. 162.

² Lock, p. 181.

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portion each time, making perhaps twenty or thirty lessons on the whole. A considerable portion of his time was spent in the school. He was most scrupulous in going to the Sunday school from 9-15 to 10-30 in the morning, and from 2-0 to 3-0 in the afternoon. Besides this it was his habit for several years to go to the boys' school every morning soon after 9-0 and teach the first class until service time at 10-0, taking them through one part of the Bible after another. . . . There was a workhouse at Hursley which was a special object of care and interest to him. . . .¹

Thirty years of work like this made a profound impression on his parish. Here his ideal of what the fellowship of the Church should be came near realisation. Here he and his devoted though delicate wife showed what Catholicity meant in practice. In the world outside, the Church was faced by great dangers from a Liberalism in politics which was not Catholic and from forms of thought and belief which were not even Christian. But here in Hursley men and women found that safety in life under the shelter of the Church which their Vicar made his practical aim in life. On March 29th, 1866, he died. "We felt that we had lost a true Saint, a true Poet," says Sir J. T. Coleridge, "a Saint whose holiness and purity no verse he ever composed could blemish — a Poet whose genius was elevated and sanctified by the perpetual heavenward inspiration under which he wrote. We had lost a guide, a counsellor, a friend, so humble, so loving, so tender, that no

¹ Coleridge's *Memoir*, Appendix, pp. 587-599.

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one shrunk from addressing him for help or advice."¹

What is the lesson which Keble has to teach us to-day? Put briefly, the meaning of the Church. The world at the beginning of the nineteenth century was searching for brotherhood and fellowship. The French Revolution had loudly announced this with its cry of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. But in pursuit of that ideal the whole world had been plunged into war. After the peace another effort to secure brotherhood was attempted. Metternich and Alexander found the secret of it in obedience to a divinely appointed Sovereign. Liberalism found it in nationality and self-government. The Oxford Movement and Keble as their leader found it in the divinely appointed Church. There was truth in each but in the sixty years since he died we are able to appreciate the value of Keble's teaching by the success and failure of the movement which he helped to start. My own belief is that we come back to one whom he called his master, Richard Hooker, and find that where they differed Hooker was right and Keble was wrong. Hooker, perhaps owing to the exigencies of the time in which he lived, did not press Episcopacy and the Apostolic succession too far. He insisted upon their importance, but he did not lay it down that without them there could be no real Church. Nor did he seek to define the actual way in which the blessing of Christ's presence at the Eucharist is realised. He also assumed without defining it that the Sovereign was master of all subjects in his dominion including

¹ Coleridge, pp. 560-1.

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the Church. This, too, was perhaps inevitable owing to the nature of the Tudor despotism. But I believe that Hooker is right in his teaching, that the Church of England has been right in following him, and that where Keble tried to go beyond him and define more minutely than his master the author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* was right and his Editor was wrong.

In the quest of brotherhood Liberalism was sound in seeing its ideal in nationality and self-government. It was surely a reactionary policy so to resist the new Liberalism of the England of 1832 that later on when Gladstone came to power as the leader of enlightened progress he had to turn for help not to the Church but to the Nonconformists. To see a danger to the Church in the government of a sovereign Parliament, which is not wholly Anglican, is to lead to disestablishment which lowers the moral standard of the State by branding it as secular and irreligious. On the other hand, to insist too rigidly that brotherhood is only realised in the Church which maintains the Apostolic succession in the Episcopate is to deny the outstanding fact of English religious history in the eighteenth century, the Methodist revival and its Anglican sequel, the Evangelical movement. No student of history can deny that England was kept Christian during the industrial revival of the eighteenth century and the upheaval of the revolutionary period at the end of that century, by the preaching of the followers of John Wesley, while France lost her Christianity, and has never fully recovered it, because of the weakness of Catholicism as practised by Wesley's

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French contemporaries. If we are to find the true brotherhood of which the Church is the divine symbol, we must, I believe, like Hooker, start with its divine origin, but not so insist on Episcopacy that we deny the fact of Christ's presence in non-episcopal Churches. Nor must we limit the breadth of the claim of the Church of England to be the Church of the nation by weakening the ties between Church and State when the Sovereign legislature sometimes acts towards the Church in ways which are not approved by all churchmen.

In order to estimate Keble's contribution to the work of the Church to-day we need to remember the great principles for which it has always stood. It is *Catholic*, that is to say, it goes back to the earliest times and stands for the creeds and the Councils of the first four centuries and the historic episcopate as the basis of government. This was the half-forgotten principle which the Tractarians emphasised once more. It has produced wonderful effects upon the Church. The beauty of worship has been far more real in the last hundred years. Music, art and architecture have all played their part in developing our reverence in the presence of God. The episcopate, too, as the basis of government, has increased beyond the wildest imagination of Keble and his friends. Instead of the 26 English sees of 1833 there are now 43, and in addition something like 140 colonial and missionary dioceses, besides those in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the United States, which are in communion with us. There are also 34 suffragan bishops in England to make the episcopal office more truly efficient. This stands

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for a wonderful development of ecclesiastical organisation and activity. Community life too, with its various activities for men and women who feel a special sense of vocation to religion, has been a marked feature of the nineteenth century, and has exercised a great influence on the spiritual life of our time. Anglo-Catholicism to-day is in many ways the most active and the best organised force in the Church. Could Keble come back to life now he might well feel that the Catholicity for which he worked and prayed, which he found in the early Fathers, which he knew was latent in the Church of England, and was threatened by the secession of Newman and others to Rome, had at last come into its own, and that the mistakes and shortcomings of the Puritans and Evangelicals would soon be forgotten in the triumph of Catholicity.

Yet I believe that this would be only a partial view of the truth. While recognising thankfully all the wonderful spiritual force which is due to the Catholic revival in England I believe, as a lover of our Church, that this movement has not fulfilled the expectations of its leaders in the years following 1833. The appeal has been too much to the Church, and not enough to Christ, except through His Church. Wesley and Simeon brought their hearers to Christ without any priest or ordinance to come in between. They had one book, the Bible, on which all their teaching was based. The result was that remarkable devotion to their divine Master which changed the lives of the middle and working class laity and kept us a Christian people in the later eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries. True,

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it was from one point of view an individualistic religion, and it produced a schism. But the new industrial classes were brought into immediate contact with Christ and knew what salvation meant.

The Church of England was to Keble divine in origin, with ordinances which were divinely appointed and leaders whose commission could be traced back to Christ Himself. He condemned the Evangelicals because they based their religion too much upon the feelings of the individual believer. He believed that he was on firmer ground when he based religion on the observance of the ordinances of the Church, and specially on frequent participation of the Holy Communion as the recognised means by which Jesus Christ promised to impart Himself to His disciples. Yet gradually there has grown up a subtle danger in that teaching. In order to increase the reverence due to this sacred service there has been set up a whole system of observances such as fasting, confession, early morning celebrations, and frequent communions on week-days as well as Sundays. To insist on these observances is to create a double standard of Christianity, for they are possible only for very few laymen and impossible for most busy men. Such observances also make the intermediary work of the priest between God and the individual soul more and more necessary. Almost inevitably the few religious people who can conform to these rules form a religious group separate from the great mass of those men and women who must be content with less. Yet the conditions of our crowded town parishes at home and of our scattered fellow-countrymen overseas

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are a warning against an insistence on such a system. The Church must be the Church of the many and not of the few. It must be true of it that "where two or three are gathered together there am I in the midst," whether the priest is present or not, and whether the attendance at the Holy Communion is observed according to certain rules or not. The danger with which the Church, as revived by the leaders of 1833, is faced is that of becoming the Church of a privileged few because of the tendency to insist on rules which are meant to help the attendance at the Eucharist, but do in fact discourage the many from coming to it. I am myself a firm believer in the value of evening Communion for those who, like mothers of working class families, maid-servants, men engaged in various forms of Saturday and Sunday work, farm labourers and invalids, cannot come in the morning. If the Church is to hold the great mass of the working classes, this seems to me to be one of the methods by which it will be done.

The Catholic movement tried to win men to Christ by emphasising the supreme importance of His Church and it has never really succeeded in winning men in the same way as did the Methodists. It began as an academic movement in Oxford and it found its inspiration in the early Fathers whose writings were voluminous and not easily accessible. It laid stress on tradition which could not readily be verified and was only open to the learned for reference. Its ideal of Catholicity was an unrealised hope, for the Christian Church of the first four centuries has become in history the Roman Church of the

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West and the Greek Church of the East, whose mistakes have been manifest in history. Instead of the cry "Back to Christ" came the cry "Back to the Catholic Church," and it was difficult to define the time and place where that had ever existed in its perfection. Instead, the Oxford leaders were faced with several Churches among which they had to choose. There was the Church of Rome, there was the Greek Church, there was the Church of England spoilt for them by its Erastianism and its recent Evangelical revival, and there were the various Nonconformist bodies to none of which would they allow the name of a Church. So they found a new ideal Church in the early centuries before Eastern and Western Christiandom had split. Their Catholicity was a grand ideal but they neglected other great principles for which our Church stands.

It is *reformed*. The more I study the works of the Tractarians and those of the Reformers the more I believe that the Reformers were right in their attitude towards the Church. We are reformed. We are a Protestant Church and I am not ashamed of the Reformation, for I do most earnestly protest against the errors of the Church of Rome. When Keble builds up new arguments and doctrines on the premises of Hooker, I am glad to stay with Hooker and not go so far as Keble. For the Tractarians, by their attitude to the Reformation and their desire to undo its teaching, where it was not sufficiently Catholic for them, have, I believe, made two mistakes. In the first place they were surely not altogether historical. For in their emphasis on the Catholicity of the Church before the sixteenth

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century they were really neglecting all the wonderful story of the Church in England during and since that century. In the second place they were definitely exclusive where the whole purpose of the Reformers was to be as inclusive as possible. To assert the necessity of certain principles of ecclesiastical organisation and ritual and to unchurch other Christians whose lives are manifestly those of disciples of the common Lord is to give a narrowing and not a widening future to the Church which was meant to save the world. We have, I believe, far more in common with many of our fellow Christians in England who are not Episcopalians than we have with French Roman Catholics or Orthodox Russians. To exclude these fellow-countrymen, instead of trying to win them, is to put the organisation of the Church before the Church's Lord.

We need also to remember another principle of our Church that it is *based on Holy Scripture*: “Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the Faith or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.” So says the Sixth Article. It was this test which the Reformers applied to the Church which they found in their day and by it they swept away abuses and retained what they believed to be right. I find it difficult to believe that all the Catholic doctrines which Keble found in the early Fathers and in some of the mediæval divines can be proved from Holy Scripture. Church government seems to be still an open question in Scripture and it is not

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easy to prove Episcopal government and the Apostolic succession from St. Paul's Epistles. The institution of the Lord's Supper raises various questions which it is not easy to answer. Recent criticism of the Bible increases rather than diminishes the clearness of the appeal to Scripture as the inspired Word of God and it is certainly clear that Holy Scripture does not authorise too narrow a view to be taken with regard to the organisation of the Church and the means of grace which its Founder intended His disciples to use.

The Church of England is also *national*. This principle seemed comparatively unimportant to Keble and his friends. To them the Catholicity of the Church was fundamental. To regard it as national was to cut it off from its world-wide heritage. It was something international, though of course it existed locally in England in a national setting. To them the control of the State and the existence of Nonconformity were troublesome restrictions on the revived life of a divine institution which was meant to have no national barriers or differences of administration or control. But the fact that the Church of England is the Church of the nation is an inspiration. It would have been an inspiration had we lived when Keble did. It is far greater now with the events that have come since he died. Just as the Jew believed that he was a member of the chosen race, because of his reading of the history of his people, so we can find in the history of the English people the story of a chosen race, called by God to do a great work in the world. At each step forward in its history has come a

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corresponding step forward in its Christian development. The glory of the Church of England is that it is the national Church of this chosen people.

Great Britain is geographically an island off the north-west coast of Europe. It was on the outskirts of the Roman Empire and quite unimportant. When the Empire fell it passed into the hands of Teutonic tribes like other parts of the Empire. Then for a thousand years from 500-1500 A.D. two things were happening. England was being trained gradually in self-government. The early Saxon monarchies gradually coalesced and in the struggle with the Danes became one. After the Norman Conquest a strong monarchy gradually gave the country law and order and in 1295 Edward I gave it a Parliament five hundred years before any other country ever achieved it. The Middle Ages then gradually came to an end through the results of the Black Death, the Hundred Years' War, and the Wars of the Roses. Meanwhile we had become a Christian people, thanks to the preaching of St. Augustine and St. Aidan in the seventh century. Monasticism did for us what it did for the rest of Europe, but our strong monarchy prevented the Pope from being too powerful, and the Church from being too independent so that the Church of England was more national than it was elsewhere. Leaders like Dunstan, Anselm, St. Hugh of Lincoln, and John Wyclif, showed how strong the hold of Christianity over the nation was. During this thousand years England was being trained by God to play a greater part in the world afterwards.

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From 1500 the expansion of England has been marked step by step by some new development in national Christianity. In 1492 the change came when Columbus discovered America. The Mediterranean Sea had hitherto been the centre of civilisation. Now with the discovery of the New World the Atlantic Ocean takes its place. At once the importance of England changes. It is no longer an unimportant country away from the main stream of life. It is on the highroad between East and West, a bridge between the Old world and the New. European expansion East and West begins and with it the dominance of the white races. Shortly after this comes the Reformation, when England recovers a purer form of Christianity. But it was unfortunate that just as Christian Europe began to spread through the world the missionary work of the Church should be hindered by a divided Gospel.

Since 1500 God's training first of the English and then of the whole British people has been remarkable as political and religious development have gone on side by side. In the sixteenth century (1485-1588) the Tudors guided us through the change from mediæval to modern times and controlled us as we adopted the Reformation while retaining our Catholic organisation. We struggled with Spain for an entrance into the Atlantic and the defeat of the Armada left us free to settle in the New World. The Church of England in the days of Elizabeth showed what a national Church could be when all except a few extremes were patriotically and enthusiastically Churchmen. Men could indeed pray for "Christ's Holy Catholic Church, particularly

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that pure and reformed part of it established in this Kingdom."

With the seventeenth century (1588-1714) came another step forward. Under the Stuarts England was settling her constitutional problem of sovereignty which it took a Civil War to decide in favour of Parliament. Puritanism questioned the truth of the Elizabethan Church settlement. The Puritan stood for the saintship of the layman. Religion was not to be hampered by Catholic organisation and Church ceremonies. It was a direct relationship between a man and his God. The battle was fought out on Episcopacy, and in the end, after the war, the Church as Elizabeth left it with its Bishops was restored. Puritanism as a political power was beaten but it has lived on as a religious force ever since. Meanwhile, it had gone over to the new World and with the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620 it laid the foundations of the American civilisation of to-day. English Protestantism under William III and Marlborough saved Europe from the Roman Catholic tyranny of Louis XIV and secured for England the lead among the countries which had accepted the Reformation.

Another change comes in the eighteenth century (1714-1815). This was the period of the struggle with France, East and West, for the leadership of North America and India. Almost at the same moment it was decided in our favour by the victory of Plassey in 1757 and that of Quebec in 1759. The empire thus gained in North America was lost by the War of American Independence, but by 1815 a new empire had grown up in the war with France

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and Napoleon. At home during these years came the industrial revolution which turned our villages into towns and produced a new middle and working class in the north and the midlands. Yet the new problems of life so created were met by a new religious revival in Methodism by which the new population at home was won for Christianity and the colonists in North America, neglected by the Church at home, were gathered into the Methodist Episcopal Church.

That is the story of English Christianity. In Tudor times the religion of Englishmen was a national inspiration. It was followed by seventeenth century Puritanism which made Christianity the inspiration of the home and the individual through the fear of God. It continued in eighteenth century Methodism which kept England and her colonies Christian when on the continent Christianity passed through perils from which it has not yet recovered. With the peace of 1815 Keble and his friends saw the need for a revival of religion if Europe and England were to be saved. They had to choose between the Catholic Christianity of the Fathers and of the early Middle Ages, and the English Christianity of the Reformation and of the centuries which followed. They chose the early Church and turned their backs on the Christian history of their own country after 1603 because it had not always proceeded upon Catholic lines. As a student of history I believe that it was a mistake not to see that the mission of the Church of England was to win back Puritanism and Methodism and become once more the Church of the whole, free, expanding, imperial

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English people, who are manifestly called to do greater things for God in the future than ever in the past.

But whatever may be thought of the working-out of his idea of the Church there can be no doubt about the Church's debt to Keble. The great memorial to him is the College at Oxford, founded in 1870, to perpetuate his name and his teaching in the University which he loved so well. From here, for half a century, have gone into our parishes at home and into the mission field abroad, a stream of men who have learnt to love the Catholic teaching which he loved and guarded for the Church of England in the difficult days of the earlier nineteenth century.

III

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“I have an ambition to be loved. From my earliest days my thoughts have been of the happiness of a beloved pastor. To be loved by my family, to be loved by my friend, to be loved by my parish, and this without compromise of principle ; this is the height of my ambition.”—W. F. Hook : Letters to Vice-Chancellor Wood, *Life*, ii, 304.

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THE twenty-two years during which Walter Farquhar Hook was Vicar of Leeds (1837-1859) were of considerable importance in the development of political and religious life of England. The two forces which were to make so great a change in our history, Parliament as it was reconstructed in 1832, and the Church as it began its renewed life in 1833, were both steadily realising their possibilities and their strength in these years. Would the Church and the State still work together in the future as in the past? Would the Church retain its spiritual leadership of the new industrial nation living in the towns or would it tend to withdraw from co-operation with the newer ideals of many thoughtful men for fear lest her message would be weakened by liberalism and secularism? It is important to note the chief political changes of this period.

The greatest event that followed the first period of Reform (1832-1834) was the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837, followed by her marriage to Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg in 1840. For over sixty years the Sovereign gave a new lead to political and religious life. The Queen was definitely Christian in her outlook on life, the Court was pure, and religious activities were encouraged by both the Queen and her Consort. This had an immense influence on the

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development of the Church throughout the century and not least during these years. The Queen was brought up and always remained an Evangelical at heart. Like many of her people she distrusted the Tractarians as inclined to Romanism and she showed her preferences in the appointment to bishoprics and other high ecclesiastical offices. The Prime Minister at her accession was the Whig Lord Melbourne who was in office till 1841. In 1841 Sir Robert Peel succeeded him as Prime Minister at the head of a Tory, or, as it now began to be called, a Conservative Government, which lasted till 1846.

Lord John Russell and the Whigs succeeded from 1846-1852. They had to cope with the situation caused by the fall of the monarchy of Louis Philippe in France in 1848. The Liberal king had become a reactionary and was driven out to make way for a Republic whose President was Louis Napoleon who became the Emperor Napoleon III in 1852. This upheaval in France caused similar Liberal movements in Austria, Prussia, Italy and Poland. The sequel to this movement in England was the Chartist riots of 1848. The Charter was the hope of some of the working men with its demand for universal suffrage, annual parliaments and payment of members of parliament. Agitation was active for it, but England passed through the revolutionary years without any real disorder. After this came a period of industrial expansion and increased wealth. The Great Exhibition of 1851 was a sign of our hopes that war and disorder were over and that the reign of peace and prosperity had come instead.

Unfortunately in 1853 a new era of struggle and

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war began and shattered these hopes. The Government found itself plunged into the Crimean War by the designs of the Tsar Nicholas I on Turkey. Lord Aberdeen was forced, by the mismanagement of the Crimean War, to resign. Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister in his stead in 1855 and brought the war to a successful conclusion. For the next ten years with one small break he remained at the head of the government till his death in 1865. He led England well and upheld our dignity abroad. At home he opposed any large reforms. He stood for the England of 1832 and refused to make any further concessions to the working classes. He was also an Evangelical in his religious views and allowed his cousin Lord Shaftesbury to have very large control of ecclesiastical patronage.

Almost immediately the Government was tested by another great disaster, the Indian Mutiny, which broke out in 1857. By wonderful valour and rapid organisation the rising was quickly put down by Sir John Lawrence, Sir Henry Havelock and Sir Colin Campbell. Our honour was maintained and our power secured. In 1858 the East Indian Company was abolished and the administration of the country was taken over by the Crown. In 1877 the Queen became Empress of India.

By the year 1859 the Parliament of the Reform Bill had been at work for twenty-seven years. Many changes had come, but gradually and by constitutional means. More and more the power had passed to the wealthy middle class, the employers of labour, the shopkeepers and the professional men. They had shown that they could govern England as

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she passed from her old agricultural to the newer industrial conditions. Yet the times were hard and life was very difficult for the still unenfranchised working man in the towns and the farm labourer in the country. The economic philosophy in vogue was *laissez faire* and the general belief was that enlightened self-interest benefited all in the end and that the less the state interfered with the individual the better. The Conservatives looked back to 1689 as their ideal constitution, the Whigs to that of 1832. Both were agreed that power must not go lower in the social scale than it had gone at present for the uneducated working man with a vote would only bring a danger of revolution. Both parties wanted reform within limits. So the Poor Law had been made in 1834 and slavery had been abolished, legislation to control labour in mines and factories had been introduced, even the Corn Laws had been repealed, and the moral responsibility of the nation for the government of India realised. It was a wonderful record of enlightened liberalism. Lord Grey, Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston were all great statesmen, and England was worthy of them. One great question still remained. What was the attitude of these leaders towards the national Church and what part would the Church play in leading the nation in these critical times?

The Episcopal bench was changing its outlook to meet the new demands of the time. William Howley was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1828-1848. John Bird Sumner followed him from 1848 to 1862. Both were able and learned men, cautious

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upholders of the old relations between Church and State and afraid of any tendencies towards Rome in Tractarian teaching. Other bishops were giving to the Episcopal office a new importance from their energy and activity. Stanley of Norwich (1837-1849) had a liberal mind, and quickly raised the spiritual tone of his large diocese. Wilberforce, Bishop first of Oxford, then of Winchester (1845-1873), was more in sympathy with the Tractarians than any of his colleagues at this time. He had a high ideal for the Church, and his personality impressed itself on all with whom he came in contact. Charles James Blomfield, Bishop of London (1824-1856) was a real leader of his great diocese at a time when many new problems had to be solved. He was a thinker, a builder of churches and a supporter of all good causes, but opposed to any great changes in doctrine or ritual. He was succeeded by Archibald Campbell Tait, Bishop of London 1856-1868 and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Tait had been one of the four Oxford Tutors who, in 1840, had protested against the anonymity of Tract 90, and had always been a strong, capable, broad-minded leader, whose sympathies were with the Evangelical section of the Church. Perhaps the most conspicuous Church layman at this time was the Earl of Shaftesbury, who, by his interest in miners and workers in general, had done much to break down the existing system of *laissez faire* by his wise social legislation, and as the leader of the Evangelicals in Parliament did much to maintain their influence in the Church, especially when he became the ecclesiastical friend and adviser of Lord Palmerston.

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During the years 1837 to 1859 the Oxford Movement was striving against much opposition to establish itself in the Church of England. The struggle was now transferred from the University of Oxford where the Tracts had been published to the country at large, where the Ecclesiastical Law Courts had to make decisions as to what was and what was not legal in the Church. The problem now was not so much doctrine as ritual which is the outward sign of doctrine. The followers of the Tractarians more and more looked behind the Reformation to the Middle Ages for the ritual in which they wished to clothe their ideal of Catholicity. The rubric in the Prayer Book which caused most trouble was that at the beginning of the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer which runs thus : "Here it is to be noted that such Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their Ministration, shall be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the authority of Parliament in the second year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth." Did that mean that the old pre-Reformation vestments were still legally required to be worn by the clergy at the Holy Communion Service or was the unbroken custom of three hundred years during which these vestments had not been worn to over-ride the rubric ? Behind these and similar questions lay the still more fundamental problem of authority. Who was to decide disputes about doctrine and ritual when they occurred ? In an Episcopal Church the natural answer was the Bishops. But the difficulty was that the Church of England was the Established Church and the en-

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forcement of Episcopal decisions rested with lay judges. Could a clergyman conscientiously obey a lay court of law? In the Middle Ages there had been Ecclesiastical Courts to try clergymen for Ecclesiastical offences and under Henry VIII a new Court called "the Court of Delegates" had been created in 1534 to hear all appeals from the Archbishops' Courts which up till then had gone to Rome.¹

In 1833 this Court of Delegates was abolished and its jurisdiction transferred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. This, therefore, was the court before which ritual disputes had now to come for decision. We may think it was a pity that such matters should have ever come into the courts at all, and that the clergyman should have obeyed his Bishop without going further. But to men who were fighting for the restoration of a forgotten ideal of Catholicity the Bishops seemed to be standing in the way of true doctrine and of ritual which was really required by the rubrics in the Prayer Book. To them Catholicity was a higher authority than Episcopacy. Yet in their new loyalty they ran the risk of heresy, the essence of which is the undue exercise of private judgment.

Prosecutions for Tractarian doctrine and ritual were beginning at this time. Let us briefly notice two. In 1850 the Gorham case raised the question of the sacrament of Baptism. George Cornelius Gorham was presented in 1847 to the living of Bromford Speke in Devonshire, but Bishop Phil-

¹ Cornish. *History of the Church of England in the Nineteenth Century*, ii, 127.

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potts of Exeter refused to institute him after a long examination in 1848, because he declared that regeneration is a change of nature, a gift bestowed before, in, or after baptism, but not given unless baptism is worthily received. Worthiness means faith and repentance. Faith is "universally" necessary, baptism is only "generally" necessary to salvation.¹ This denied the doctrine held by the Bishop that the sacramental grace of regeneration always accompanies the ceremony. The case came before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which decided that Gorham's doctrine was not contrary or repugnant to the declared doctrine of the Church of England. This roused the anger of the Tractarians who agreed with the Bishop.

In 1857 came the first big ritual case, that of Westerton v. Liddell. The Rev. Robert Liddell was accused of having certain illegal ornaments in his church. The Judicial Committee decided that crosses are illegal if attached to or placed on the Communion Table: that stone altars are illegal, but credence tables are legal.² About the same time the introduction of new ritual led to strong opposition and, in some cases, as at St. George's-in-the-East, whose Rector was Bryan King, to disorder and rioting. King's neighbour and friend, Charles Lowder, in 1857, based the legality of these practices, for which he was largely responsible, on the decision of the Court in the case of Westerton v. Liddell. This was that the Eucharistic vestments, chasuble, alb and tunicle were lawful "ornaments" in the sense of the Rubric. So ritual advanced and

¹ Cornish, i, 323, 326.

² Cornish, ii, 14.

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its supporters took every opportunity of resisting Bishops and law courts in pursuit of Catholic principles. Pusey wrote sadly in 1860 to Bishop Tait deprecating these usages as being contrary to the ideals of the early Tractarians.¹

These ritual difficulties were a prominent fact in the Church's life at this time and they provoked much criticism. The leading statesmen who were guiding England along new paths felt that the spiritual force which the Church should have given them was being frittered away on trifles. The Bishops felt that their proper authority was being flouted by a few extremists.² The general Protestant good sense of the nation was alarmed. What made things worse was the consecration by Pope Pius IX of Dr. Wiseman as Archbishop of Westminster and Cardinal in 1850. England was divided up into thirteen Roman Catholic dioceses under a Metropolitan and provocative words were used about the restoration of England to communion with the Pope. Lord John Russell brought in a bill to suppress Episcopal titles and the country was vaguely frightened of Popery. In the end nothing serious happened, and the excitement quieted down. But this Roman Catholic activity made attempts to introduce higher ritual into the Church of England more unpopular than ever. There was, of course, much else going on in the Church at this time. But problems of doctrine and ritual took the first place in the popular imagination. Many clergy and laymen alike who longed for the Church to guide the nation on the path of progress were wondering if, during

¹ Cornish, ii, 23.

² Cornish, i, 342, 3.

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these twenty-two years, the Church was really losing an opportunity never to return.

It was during these years, 1837-1859, that Walter Farquhar Hook was Vicar of Leeds. He was born in 1798, the son of the Rev. James Hook, who was a Court favourite, Rector of Hertingfordbury, and later Canon of Winchester. Hook was sent to Winchester College in 1812, where he met the great friend of his life, W. P. Wood, afterwards Lord Hatherley. He was a shy boy at school and was not conspicuously successful there. In 1818 he went up as an undergraduate to Christ Church, Oxford, where he continued to live a life of seclusion and made Shakespeare rather than classics or mathematics his chief study. He grumbled at the drudgery involved in reading for his degree and he took it without Honours in 1821. He made up his mind to take Holy Orders and looked forward to the quiet life of a country parson. He was ordained in the same year and became curate to his father at Whippingham in the Isle of Wight.

Here he worked hard in his parish, which was extensive. "The strong pastoral feeling is generated in the country, and I attribute what little success I have had entirely to my country breeding."¹ So he writes in after years. He also read diligently, especially the early Fathers and Church History. He often spent as much as nine or ten hours a day in reading, rising very early in order to finish what he had in hand before he started visiting. He thus made up for what he had missed at Oxford and laid the foundation of the great learning of which he made

¹ Stephens' *Life of Walter Farquhar Hook*, i, 61.

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such good use later. As the result of his researches at this time “ he was led to the conviction which all his subsequent studies strengthened and to which he ever held with a tenacious grasp, that the Reformed Anglican Church was a pure and apostolical branch of the Church Catholic : that she was essentially Catholic as being on all vital points of constitution, doctrine and practice in harmony with the primitive Church and on the other hand essentially Protestant as opposed to the pretensions of the Papal power, and to the corruption in teaching and practice of the Middle Ages.”¹

In 1825 Hook’s father was made Dean of Worcester, and the home at Whippingham was broken up. Hook was appointed in 1826 to the perpetual curacy of Moseley, then a quiet village four miles from Birmingham. “ It is just the place,” he says, “ where I can live and die in peace and seclusion, which is all I want.”² Here he was a diligent parish priest, an indefatigable student and took special interest in the foundation of a village school in 1827. He also accepted the offer of a lectureship at St. Philip’s, Birmingham, which brought him into touch with men of culture in that town on Sunday afternoons. In 1829, however, he left Moseley on his appointment to the living of Holy Trinity, Coventry, where he remained till 1837. He was here during the political agitation which led up to the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832. He soon made his mark in Coventry, but shared the unpopularity of the clergy at this period, because “ by not heartily throwing themselves into the cause of Reform they lost a

¹ *Life*, i, 66.

² *Life*, i, 117.

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magnificent opportunity of attaching the people to the Church and were too commonly regarded by the vulgar mind as opponents rather than champions of the great Christian principles of liberty and justice.”¹ But this unpopularity he gradually overcame.

He was at Coventry too when the Tractarian Movement began in 1833. He supported the Association of Friends of the Church which sent an address to the Archbishop of Canterbury promising loyal “adherence to the apostolical doctrine and polity of the Church and their deep-rooted attachment to the Liturgy as an embodiment of the primitive faith. No less than 1,120 persons in his parish signed this address which shows their Vicar’s activity.”² He sympathised with the earlier Tracts as they came out and rejoiced in the fact that they taught what he had long been endeavouring to inculcate. He seems to have been regarded by the writers for some time as the principal, almost the solitary, instance of one who worked out in a large parochial sphere fully and freely the principles which they taught.³ But it must be borne in mind that he was neither a colleague nor a disciple of the Tract writers. He was for a certain time *with* them, but he was never *of* them. Later, when the Tracts came to an end and the party was shaken to its foundation, he went on his way at the same steady pace, and with the same undeviating straightforwardness of movement as before his connection with them.”⁴

In 1829 he married Anna Delicia Johnstone whom he had known in Birmingham, whose cheerfulness

¹ *Life*, i, 149.

² *Life*, i, 154.

³ *Life*, i, 159.

⁴ *Life*, i, 160.

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and charm were a great help to him in his busy life. While at Coventry he found that it was a common practice to attend Church on Sunday morning and to go to some Dissenting Chapel in the evening. He therefore began evening services on Sunday during the summer of 1830. They were largely attended. In Lent 1831 he gave a course of lectures on Wednesday mornings which also attracted large numbers. In Holy Week of the same year he delivered daily lectures which he afterwards published.¹ In this, as in so much else, he was a pioneer. “Sunday evening services, frequent communions, Saints’ Day services—these are wonderfully common things now, but they were rare novelties then.”² His Sunday evening sermons almost always consisted of an expository course upon some subject or upon some book of Holy Scripture.³ The Sunday Schools and catechising occupied a great deal of his interest and attention.⁴ The institution in which he took personally the most lively interest was the Religious and Useful Knowledge Society, which was founded in May, 1835, for the purpose of forwarding and extending such knowledge by means of a library, classes of instruction and periodical lectures.⁵ In all that “he did, he inculcated principles and left them to work, and the consequence of this wise policy was that to a great extent the action of the Church in his parish proceeded from the laity; it was the spontaneous fruit of the spirit which they caught and of the principles which they learned from him.”⁶

In 1837 Hook was offered the important living

¹ *Life*, i, 170, 171.

² *Life*, i, 174.

³ *Life*, i, 175.

⁴ *Life*, i, 176.

⁵ *Life*, i, 179.

⁶ *Life*, i, 183.

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of Leeds. There was some opposition to him on account of his Tractarian opinions and at one time he thought of withdrawing his name lest he should rouse ill-feeling. But he was elected Vicar in March by a large majority of the trustees and in April he read himself in. "I am to labour," he said, in his first sermon, "for the salvation of souls and the edification of the Church, but not in ways and modes of my own devising, but according to the laws, the regulations, the spirit of the English Church."¹ "With Dissenters, therefore, in religious matters I may not act, but most readily will I number them among my private friends."²

The work that lay before him was gigantic. Leeds was a typical specimen of a West Riding town. While the spirit of the Church was torpid, Methodism grew and flourished and kept pace with the rapid and enormous increase of population, striking its roots deeper and deeper year by year into the affections and understandings of the people.³ The Evangelical clergymen of a former generation had so far sympathised with this form of religion that such churchmanship as there was was of a Methodist type. The population of Leeds had risen from 53,162 in 1801 to 123,393 in 1831.⁴ In 1835 there were eight churches in the town and nine in the suburbs with eighteen clergy. Weak as the Church was, the Dissenters and Socialists entertained the most implacable hostility to it. Turbulent scenes took place in the vestry which elected the churchwardens and voted the amount of the church rates.

¹ *Life*, i, 320.

² *Life*, i, 322.

³ *Life*, i, 370.

⁴ *Life*, i, 371.

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But Hook soon became popular by his courage and sense of humour. The congregations at the parish church became larger almost at once. Church life in Leeds had been helped by the creation of the new see of Ripon in 1836, the first Bishop of which was Charles Thomas Longley, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Hook was a keen supporter of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and roused a great deal of interest in its publications. He soon threw himself into all sorts of religious activities in the town and was an indefatigable visitor in his parish. His sermons in the parish church drew large crowds to hear him. "Sunday by Sunday, with great weight of learning, and with great force and perspicuity of language, did he unfold the true nature and principles of the Church of England : her apostolical succession, her foundations by St. Augustine, her purification by the Reformers of the sixteenth century, her harmony in creed and practice with the Primitive Church."¹ The effects of his teaching soon became apparent. The number of communicants when he came was about fifty. Three years later between four and five hundred communicated on Easter Day and at the first confirmation at Leeds after his appointment over a thousand candidates were presented by him and other clergy of the township.² He revived the daily services at his church and attended them daily himself. He summed up the position in a letter to Mr. Wood in August, 1837. "Churchmen have hitherto been accustomed to think the Church bad enough, but not too bad for them as Tories to

¹ *Life*, i, 394.

² *Life*, i, 396.

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belong to it. They seem quite delighted to hear me prove that the Church is absolutely excellent.”¹ In 1838 he preached a sermon at the Chapel Royal before the young Queen in which he showed that the Church of England was not founded but only reformed in the sixteenth century, and this made a great impression on his royal listener.² In the same year he said in another sermon : “ I am not one of those who would say, ‘ Read the Oxford Tracts and take for granted every opinion there expressed,’ but I am one of those who would say, ‘ Read and digest these Tracts well and you will have imbibed principles which will enable you to judge of opinions.’ ”³ He expressed his views of national education in another letter to Mr. Wood in November, 1838 : “ Anything like a semi-religious education I deprecate, but I have no objection to let the State train children to receive the religious education we and the Dissenters are prepared to give, the State at the same time insisting on their coming to us for the purpose.”⁴ He was very anxious for the Church to spend money on the training of teachers and was in all the discussions of the time a keen supporter of the National Society.⁵

During these first years at Leeds he was very versatile in his parish work. “ Of all the happiest employments of a pastor’s life,” he writes to one friend, “ the happiest is that of preparing young people for confirmation. I do love to be in communion with youthful minds.”⁶ In 1838 he says, “ I am engaged in a kind of novel magazine to be called

¹ *Life*, i, 408.

² *Life*, i, 426.

³ *Life*, i, 435.

⁴ *Life*, i, 446.

⁵ *Life*, i, 455-457.

⁶ *Life*, ii, 13.

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“The Voice of the Church,” and to consist entirely of selections from our old authors, making them speak on modern controversies.”¹ All the time he was busy in collecting money. He writes to J. H. Newman in 1839: “We have of late raised £3,000 for Church purposes; for the rebuilding of the parish church I have already raised £10,000 and shall want £10,000 more and have raised £18,000 for building a church in another part of the town.”² To another friend he describes his day’s work: “Twelve o’clock, Committee of Diocesan Church Building Society. One o’clock Committee for Parish Church Building, three o’clock dinner, four o’clock lecture in St. Jude’s Schoolroom, six o’clock Holy Communion to Mr. Rhodes at Knowsthorp, three miles off, eight o’clock meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.”³

Up to the year 1841 it would be true to say of Hook that he agreed with the Tract writers in their principles, but frequently differed from them respecting the best mode of practically applying their principles.⁴ He felt that these men were largely misjudged and unfairly criticised, and therefore he wished to support them, as he agreed with their teaching. In 1841 appeared Tract 90. Hook was sympathetic with Newman because he thought him to be harshly treated and said to his Bishop that if the Church was to be divided into two halves the High Church Party and the Low Church Party, he would be found with the High Church Party.⁵ But he soon realised that this attitude was due to excite-

¹ *Life*, ii, 20.

² *Life*, ii, 24.

³ *Life*, ii, 26.

⁴ *Life*, ii, 56.

⁵ *Life*, ii, 75.

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ment and quickly returned to his belief in the essential unity of the Church.

Hook differed from the Tractarians at this time by his approval of the scheme for setting up an Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem for which funds were to be provided by English and Prussians and the jurisdiction of which should extend over Anglicans and Lutherans. The Prussians in Palestine were prepared to accept the jurisdiction of the Bishop and Hook thought that they would practically accept Catholic principles towards which the Church of England ought to help them.¹ In the end this proposal was not a success but the incident showed the divergence of views between Hook and the Tractarians which was increased by the disparaging tones about the Reformation which the leaders now began to adopt. "We all desire union," he writes, "you (of the extreme Tractarians) by making our Church conformable with the continental Churches: we by inducing all Churches to reform and so come into harmony with us."²

Meanwhile he had been hard at work in building a new parish church for Leeds. The cost had risen to £28,000 and in this same year 1841 it was completed and consecrated. It seated nearly 3,000 persons and 40 persons could kneel at once at the celebrations of Holy Communion. The service was conducted by the Archbishop of York and was attended by an enormous congregation. It was a great climax to four years' successful work for God under very difficult conditions.

His parochial activities were increased by his new

¹ *Life*, ii, 100.

² *Life*, ii, 105.

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church. Besides catechising in the afternoon he commonly preached twice on Sundays and conducted various classes of instruction in the course of the week. He gradually overcame the opposition of men who were predisposed to regard the Church with aversion or suspicion while his own people were ready to do anything for him or for the Church which he taught them to love.¹

In 1843 he had to face the large task of a division of his great parish into several smaller ones which involved a loss of income to himself and required the authority of Parliament. Existing churches which were only chapels of ease to the parish church were to be made independent parishes with resident vicars, with a large number of free seats for the poor in each church.² After much negotiation this Bill passed Parliament in 1844 and made the work of the Church in Leeds far more manageable and efficient. His industry at this time was marvellous. "He commonly got up at five o'clock, sometimes at four, or even earlier, and thus secured three or four hours for literary work and correspondence free from interruption before breakfast, after which he was ready to meet all parochial demands up till ten o'clock at night, and he seldom spent an evening at home."³ It was at this time that he was busy with the compilation of his Church Dictionary. At the close of 1844 he seemed to be at the zenith of his power when he was suddenly faced by a great difficulty. On October 28th, 1845, just a fortnight after Newman's secession to Rome, a new church at Leeds dedicated to St. Saviour, and given by an

¹ *Life*, ii, 121.

² *Life*, ii, 176.

³ *Life*, ii, 182.

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anonymous donor, was consecrated. From the first, in spite of Hook's earnest remonstrances and those of the Bishop, the clergy of St. Saviour's persisted in doctrines and practices which he reprobated, and one after another in rapid succession they fell away to Rome.¹ Hook was very much troubled and feared that all his work would be undone. He warned his flock against the Romanising school, particularly their disparagement of the English Reformation and a hankering after mediæval doctrine and practice.² Gradually he renewed the old confidence in himself and the Catholicity for which he stood, but not before his cause had suffered a great deal from the teaching at St. Saviour's.

In 1846 he elaborated his ideas on national education in a pamphlet. "Let schools be established and supported by the State in which the teachers should be responsible for that secular instruction only which all denominations would agree to give but let every child be required to bring each week a certificate of having attended the Sunday School either of his parish church or some legally licensed place of worship. Further let class-rooms be attached to such schools in which on the afternoons of Wednesdays and Fridays the parish clergy or their deputies and the Dissenting ministers should give religious instruction separately to the children of their respective flocks."³ It was an interesting suggestion for the solution of a problem which was now becoming increasingly important. He was always a warm advocate of education for the working classes, and during his first ten years at Leeds he raised no

¹ *Life*, ii, 192-194.

² *Life*, ii, 198.

³ *Life*, ii, 207-208.

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less than £20,000 for fourteen schools accommodating more than 7,000 children.¹ So busy was he with all this variety of work that for a while his health broke down and he had to take a complete rest at the end of 1848 and the beginning of 1849. But he completely recovered and was practically free from illness for the rest of his life.

When the Gorham judgment was made known in 1850 Hook, though he disapproved of Gorham's views on Baptism, did not feel that great harm would come to the Church. "I do not like to drive men to a corner," he writes to Mr. Wood, "I do not like to make a rule more stringent than it has been for three hundred years : I do not like to give a bishop power to say : 'You shall not only subscribe to our formularies but receive them in my sense,' even though his sense is right in my opinion."² This is true toleration, and is characteristic of the writer. As the years went on he became more and more hostile to the Tractarians because of their Romanising tendencies especially in the ritualistic troubles. He declined in 1850 to become a member of the Yorkshire Church Union. "I do not see how members of the Church of England can be called upon to form a Union except on the principles and in vindication of the principles of the English Reformation. These principles are Catholic and Protestant, Catholic as opposed to the peculiarities of nationalism and Protestant as opposed to the mediævalism of the Romanist."³ In the same year he made a strong speech against the Papal scheme of setting up a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England. "The

¹ *Life*, ii, 214.

² *Life*, ii, 274.

³ *Life*, ii, 286.

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Romish sect," he said, " has dared to declare in the ears of all Europe that this wise and understanding people, this great English nation, is prepared to fall back into the superstitions of the dark ages and that we are prepared to accept Popery."¹ He was a warm supporter of the Ecclesiastical Tithes Assumption Bill. He gladly backed up Lord Aberdeen's government in 1852, and was especially an admirer of Mr. Gladstone.² In politics as in religion he was patriotically English. In 1852 in a sermon on the death of the Duke of Wellington, he says : " Let us glory in the fact that we are Englishmen, and remember that as Englishmen we are to set an example to the world and not to seek, whether in morals, in religion or in politics, a model in other nations."³

During his last years at Leeds he held a most commanding position in the religious life of the town and neighbourhood. He did much for the working men and helped them in the foundation of institutes at which he often lectured and encouraged their efforts at securing a shorter working day. One who knew him well wrote of him in 1857 : " His real strength was in the working classes. He was, from his first coming to Leeds, the working-man's Vicar : he wished to be this and they recognised the justice of the claim."⁴ In 1858 he was asked to sign an address of loyalty to the Queen on behalf of 20,000 members of Friendly Societies when she visited Leeds.⁵ His ordinary work went on as usual during the last seven years in his parish. All through his journals week after

¹ *Life*, ii, 289.

² *Life*, ii, 297.

³ *Life*, ii, 302.

⁴ *Life*, ii, 315.

⁵ *Life*, ii, 316.

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week may be read the unfailing entry, "On Monday, class at 4, class at 8; on Thursday, class at 8" and during the season of Lent with very rare exceptions, every day, "preached in the parish church." The ordinary entry on Sundays is "preached in the morning and evening in the parish church," and this is frequently prefaced by the entry, "rose at 4 to write sermon."¹ In all this he was generously and nobly supported by his fellow-workers, clerical and lay, nor was he wanting in the help of several men of wealth and influence. Gradually the long strain and excitement of the work began to tell on him, and at length in 1859 he was offered by Lord Derby, and accepted, the Deanery of Chichester, at the age of sixty-one.

During the time that he was Dean from 1859 till his death in 1875, he was active in rebuilding the Cathedral, in preaching in his own and other dioceses and in various committees. But his chief business was his *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, which was the fruit of a long and busy life in which Church History was the predominant intellectual interest. It is a long work in twelve large volumes and brings the history in great detail down to the death of Archbishop Laud. In 1863 he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society which greatly pleased him. When Mr. Gladstone came into power in 1869 Hook was offered more than one deanery more lucrative than his own, but he refused them on account of his age. In 1871 Mrs. Hook died and her loss meant a great weakening of her husband's cheerfulness and activity. His health declined in

¹ *Life*, ii, 320.

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1873 and 1874 and on October 20th, 1875, he passed away. He was a great man who had done great things for God and the Church of England. His leadership as a parish clergyman had shown the vitality of the Church and the truly Catholic nature of its principles at a time when their very reassertion in some places was doing damage to the Anglican cause throughout the country. His best memorial is the strength and influence of the Church of England in Leeds ever since his time. His biographer thus sums him up—"He was at once an active pastor, an eloquent preacher, a laborious student, a voluminous letter writer, an able historian, a witty humorist, a wise, practical moralist, an earnest Christian, an ardent patriot and, every inch of him, a sturdy Englishman."¹

The lesson we can still learn to-day from this great, lovable man is what the parish ought to be. He stood for the Catholicity of the Church of England, as the Church of the English people and one great means of making that a fact is the parochial visitation of the people by their clergy. The whole of England is divided up into parishes, and in each of them there is a clergyman as the representative of the national church. He is responsible for bringing the Christian religion into touch with the people who live in his parish, not because they go to church or are active members of his congregation, but because they are geographically situated in that part of England which is his parish. This is the fact which results from the historic nature of the Church of England and gives the clergy the

¹ *Life*, ii, 472.

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glorious right of visiting all the homes in their parish unless their visits are definitely rejected. Other religious bodies are built up on the congregational principle. Their ministers or priests visit their own congregations but are not called upon to visit any one who does not belong to their own flocks. The Church of England clergyman is expected to visit everyone in his parish. As a result of this the clergyman has a great privilege and a great responsibility. Nowhere else has a Christian minister such a glorious right of entry in his Master's name as in our Church. It is a matter of great importance that we should make the best use of this right of visiting which is the basis of all our parochial work.

I believe that visiting is one of the happiest duties which we are called upon to undertake. At first sight it may seem to be something to be dreaded. We do not feel inclined to go on certain days, we are not sure of our reception, we are conscious of feeling shy, and we wonder whether we are doing much good by it. My own experience of visiting was all too short, and was only too frequently spoiled by other duties which took up time. But I think that three rules stand out. The first is that we should be systematic. The ideal is no doubt house-to-house visitation so that we may at least know all the people in the parish. But often our town parishes are too big to allow of this. In my own parish there were 21,000 people, and even with two good curates only the fringe of these huge numbers could be touched. But even so, it is something for the clergyman to be a familiar figure in the streets of his

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parish. It is something to feel the sense of property involved in the words "my parish," so that we have the right to say "Good morning" to everyone we pass because even if we do not know them we know that they are our parishioners or else are trespassers on our domain. Some of my happiest recollections are the greetings from children whom I did not recognise, but who called to me "Good morning, Vicar," with a cheery smile. Only if we are in our parishes as many afternoons in the week as possible for two to three hours can we hope to know our people in the towns as we should.

A second rule is, I think, that we should go expecting to make new friends or to see old friends. Visiting can become rather a professional and formal matter. We may go because it is our duty to go, but without ever really enjoying it. I can only remember with thankfulness now how often I started a visit in fear, without enthusiasm, and sometimes only because it was my duty, and then, when the door was opened and I was let in and we started talking, the shyness and the sense of duty wore off and I found that my host or hostess and I were friends and I was sorry to leave them and go somewhere else. I found that it was generally worth while to accept any tea or other hospitality if it was offered. Sometimes this might mean two or three cups of tea and varieties of food, not excluding eggs, in one afternoon. But much can be accomplished with the help of a good digestion and nothing so quickly puts us alongside our people as the pleased acceptance of their outward signs of friendship.

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A third rule is that usually we should try to pray with our people in their homes. This of course cannot always be done and it must not become a strict law which can never be broken. But we are the representatives of our Master, and if we do not leave a blessing behind us we have probably failed to give the message to that home that we ought to give and we shall have withheld something which in most cases was expected of us. I generally found that something or someone about whom we had been talking gave me my cue. The husband or the children or some anxiety or illness naturally led to the question : " Shall we ask God about this before I go ? " and the answer was always, so far as I can remember, " Yes, please." Sometimes if you accept hospitality and more than one person is with you at tea, the whole meal is made sacramental by a prayer before you leave the table. The easiest way to begin, in case there is any sense of shyness, I used to find to be by asking those present to say the Lord's Prayer with me and after that, putting into an extempore petition the subjects about which we had been talking. Sometimes the words come out wrong and sometimes we may long for more proficiency in speaking. But even if you add a collect I am a great believer in a sentence or two of extempore prayer to make the petitions real and to lead up to the blessing at the end. I shall never forget some homes in my old parish where the place whereon I stood is still holy ground. It is a wonderful strength to our own weak faith to be conscious of the Lord's presence in the homes of our people.

We must make much of our Church of England

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right of visit. It is a priceless heritage. When it can be done systematically throughout a whole parish it is the great bond between the clergy and the people. Where the parish is too big for this it should be carried out systematically for those who attend church regularly, for the Church-workers, for the sick and aged and infirm, for those mothers who bring their children to be baptised, for the newly married couples and for all who have any claim upon the clergy. One very useful means of getting an entrance into new houses I found to be the signing of forms and papers of various kinds. This I generally refused to do unless I knew the person for whom I was asked to do it. This often meant a visit from which unexpected and delightful friendships sprang. Some record is necessary if visiting is to be of real use. I found that a card-index with the name and address, the date, and a few notes upon the persons concerned, was invaluable for the next visit as a reminder about themselves, their families and their circumstances. It is a great help at the next visit to start off by enquiries about the children, thanks to the notes of the previous call. I was even open enough with my people to take out my notebook while talking with them and write down my notes of names and ages while they gave me the information with a smile, when I pleaded the certainty otherwise that I should mix up their children with those of their neighbours in my mind. This cannot, of course, always be done, but where it can it avoids mistakes.

A large part of our visiting is spent among the sick. We want to be as clear as we can about our

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purpose here, for the problem of suffering is the hardest we have to meet. I believe that there are four factors in its solution. The first is that much suffering is caused by the normal working of the laws of nature. Much illness is caused by our ignorance or neglect of those laws. But God is not going to work miracles that we may be immune from the effects of his laws. We may come within range of infection for disease without knowing it, but we shall catch it, however good Christians we may be, and we must not put the blame on God, because we have been careless. A second factor is human free will which is the cause of much suffering. Hereditary liability to illness is often the result of an ancestor's self-indulgence. Accidents are often due to human carelessness or self-will. Sheer cruelty often causes others to suffer. Where we can trace pain or illness to the self-will of man, we must not blame God. The third factor is the love of God. Christianity teaches us that God is love in spite of everything to the contrary. The conditions of life in this world are governed by the working of the laws of nature, combined with the actions of men who are beings with free will. Suffering often results, but God over-rules all for good, and uses this combination of circumstances for the training of character so that we may grow more like Himself. The fourth factor is our faith. It is our joy and privilege as Christians to trust our heavenly Father's love when we suffer, however difficult it may be to do so. We may resist or grumble or become hardened by suffering. But if so, we just miss all its meaning. For we are demanding that our lives should be lived

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under circumstances other than those under which they must be lived on this earth. If we trust the love of God, we, like Jesus Christ, shall be made "perfect through suffering."¹ If we can bring this message of comfort with us as we visit the sick we shall, I believe, help them to understand more about the mystery of pain and to keep that faith in God's love which sometimes is so sorely tried.

Beside our visiting as one great basis of the work of the Church of England in the parish there is a second, preparation for Confirmation. This is a tremendous asset and gives the clergy an invaluable link with their people. That it should be recognised that as they pass from childhood to youth our young people of both sexes should take the definite step of dedicating their lives to God is to give the clergyman the opportunity for coming into contact with the youth of his parish and winning the rising generation for the Church. Hook realised the importance of this, and gave much time and energy to his Confirmation classes. Keble did the same. Both felt rightly that this is the opportunity of the clergyman to teach people as they begin to think for themselves what the Church is and what its membership involves. This raises at once the vexed question of the age for Confirmation. I believe myself that the right age is fifteen to sixteen. It is possible at an early age to train the younger child into a habit of attending the Eucharist before he really is old enough to think about it. My own recollections of Confirmation candidates are happiest where they have been old

¹ Hebrews, ii, 10.

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enough to question and to read and to persevere, perhaps in the face of opposition or mockery, because they are able to think for themselves about what they are taught and to begin some active service for God.

The more I studied and taught, the more I learned to admire and love the text-book for Confirmation, the Church Catechism. *The Church Catechism Explained*, by Canon A. W. Robinson, is the best book on this subject known to me and I based all my teaching on it. Let me remind you very simply of what the Catechism teaches, for if it becomes really the guide of those who learn it we need have no fear about their churchmanship or their Catholicity. It is divided into five parts. The first part deals with Baptism as the starting-point of the Christian life. But the blessing of membership of the Church of Christ is not held to be merely dependent on the pouring of the water in the name of the Holy Trinity, but to be conditional on the fulfilment of the promises of renunciation of wrong, correct belief and right conduct. The second part deals with correct belief by giving the Apostles' Creed with a short explanation. The Creed can be mechanically repeated by children and young people who later on may refuse to repeat it because they have come to doubt the truth of some of its clauses. But to teach the Creed and some of the Church history that lies behind it is a grand opportunity to make this outline of belief real for our candidates and also for ourselves. To them the idea of the Holy Trinity is very difficult to reconcile with the unity of God. I believe that the easiest way is to

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begin with Jesus Christ and to let young people realise that we can only understand God the Creator as Father because our Lord revealed Him as Father, and that we can understand the Holy Spirit as all that is best and highest in man finding its fulfilment and realisation in Christ. They can understand Christ as their Divine Lord and the two Persons of the Holy Trinity as involved in His coming to earth as man. The great danger to-day is that God has become vague and unreal to men. In teaching the Creed we can help our children to grow up knowing that God is real and personal and loving because Christ has told us so. As the years go on they will find out for themselves that His teaching fits the facts of life. The third part deals with right conduct, as expressed by the Ten Commandments with the well-known explanation of them as our duty towards God and our duty towards our neighbour. Canon Robinson shows how much the idea of duty has entered into the heart of all that is best in English life. I have found that the explanation of the Commandments has made clear to young people the solutions of many problems of conduct in their homes and business lives. There are many efforts made to-day to teach us to do our duty to our neighbour without any reference to God. It is a great thing for our young Church people to realise that we cannot really love our fellow-men unless we try to love God first. When they have grasped that great principle it is worth a great deal to go back to these ancient Commandments to realise the fundamental social duties if we are to live unselfish lives. I am sorry that there is a tendency to omit the Ten

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Commandments at the beginning of Celebrations of Holy Communion to-day. I think that they need emphasising more now than ever before. The fourth part of the Catechism deals with prayer. Canon Robinson's explanation of this is most illuminating. To teach our Confirmation candidates to pray after the model of the Lord's Prayer is to give them the secret of the Christian life. It is so important that we should not be selfish in our prayers. We need to remember that this prayer is in two halves and that the first is all about God and His will, and the second alone is about ourselves and our needs. This gives us the clue to all prayer which must be an effort to do God's will rather than an appeal to Him to do our will. The fifth part is a short explanation of the Sacraments. We are on safe Catholic ground here when we define a Sacrament as "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ himself as a means whereby we receive the same and a pledge to assure us thereof." As Hooker says: "Let it therefore be sufficient for me presenting myself at the Lord's table to know what there I receive from Him without searching or inquiring of the manner how Christ performeth his promise."¹

The importance of the Catechism lies in the teaching about the ordinary growth of the Christian life through Baptism to Confirmation and so to Holy Communion. This is the normal, gradual growth. There is another familiar word in connection with this life and that is Conversion. That suggests something unusual, sudden. In the Church

¹ Hooker. *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Vol. V, lxvii.

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we do not rule this out, nay, we gladly accept it where it takes place. But we regard it as exceptional rather than normal, and we would not frighten young people by saying that without this experience they cannot become Christians.

There is more than this. We are in danger of forgetting the full meaning of Confirmation for which we are training our children by this teaching on the Catechism. Confirmation with its laying on of hands is a form of ordination and really involves a belief in the priesthood of the laity. Of late years more stress has been paid on the priesthood of the clergy, and we have almost forgotten that the laity are priests too. There is a need to emphasise this in the teaching for Confirmation. The priest is one who is an intermediary between God and man. All Christians are priests, for by their lives and work they are the means through which God comes into contact with others. The doctor is a priest through the art of healing, the musician is a priest through the art of music, the statesman is a priest as he governs those over whom he rules, the mother in training her children, the elder brother in helping his smaller brothers and sisters, the workman who witnesses for a Christian standard among his mates, the shopkeepers who will not do anything dishonest in face of difficult competition, the Sunday School teacher in teaching his class, the chairman in helping the congregation to worship, are all priests through whom God's will is made known to others. We want to insist on this that our rising generation may realise that membership of Christ's Church does not mean a passive attendance at church once on Sun-

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day but an active work for God to which they are ordained at their Confirmation.

There is one place in particular where stress should be laid on the priesthood of the laity and that is the home. The tendency in recent years, especially in big town parishes, is to concentrate all Christian activity upon the services in the church and the organisations in parish rooms or schools, with the result that the sacredness of home life and the duties of parents to their children and those of children to their parents have been pushed into the background. Services are multiplied in the church, children and young people are urged to be at clubs and meetings night after night, friendships and loyalties are begun which weaken the ordinary domestic ties of the family. Often there is reason enough for these outside influences for good if the homes are small and squalid and the atmosphere indifferent or hostile to Christianity. Yet we need to remember that the family is a God-given institution and therefore it must be wrong to weaken it. We need to teach parents that they are really priests in their families, whose lives are the means by which God is revealed to or hidden from their children. I believe that the revival of family prayers, however short, at least once a day would be worth more to our young people than some of our special services in the Church. To put this as an ideal before those whom we marry would be to hallow their wedded life and the lives of their children. We want families to come to church together because they are already worshipping God at home together. We need to secure at least one night a week as a home

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night when all stay at home and no one is expected to go out to a club or a service or an entertainment. That would be the night when the clergy, freed from outside duties, would be able to visit the homes of their people, find them all in and take the lead in that family worship which will lead back the thoughts and hopes of those who pray there to their Father in heaven and His love for His children on earth. The revival of this Christian atmosphere in the home will go far to help us in the solution of the sexual problem. At present boys and girls grow up in ignorance of the temptations of impurity because their parents so often have not sufficient sense of religious responsibility for the upbringing of their children and the children as they grow up look outside the home for the answers to their questions and their desires. To teach their children the facts of life is surely the duty of parents, but there is no way by which it can be done so purely and so ideally as by parents who know how sacred a thing marriage is because their own love rests on the love of God.

Hook stood for the Church in the life of the parish. He also stood for the Catholicity of the Church of England as embodied in the *Via Media* of the sixteenth century and expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles and the Prayer Book. I believe that we need to-day to go back to that Reformation settlement and thank God for its Catholicity. We must never forget, what Hook was sometimes inclined to forget, that it was meant to be as inclusive of Englishmen as possible. The Puritan and the moderate Roman Catholic were to be won for the

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national Church and not driven out if it were possible to retain them. Owing to political strife and the bitterness of controversy the Puritan element in the nation was later on driven into schism from the Church. When Hook came to Leeds, Evangelical churchmanship roused his anger because it seemed to him more nearly akin to Nonconformity than to Catholicity. Yet after 1841 he came to see that the later Tractarians in their tendency to Roman Catholicism were even more dangerous to the true Catholic spirit of the Church of England. We, with seventy more years' experience of the history of our Church, need to return once more to the breadth of vision of the Reformers, Cranmer and Hooker and Parker and Jewel, and realise that under the English heritage of Episcopacy and the Creeds and the Bible we may still hold different views about the divine authority of the Bishops and about the nature of the Sacraments and about the greater or less amount of ritual and yet be English Catholics as they were. More than once in our history the Church has had a chance of winning the Puritans and their descendants to her side. But she made the mistake of driving away instead of winning them, and when she did that she fell short, as I believe, of the Catholic ideal of the *Via Media*. She persecuted the Puritans in the seventeenth century, she treated with coldness the Methodists in the eighteenth century, and she refused to throw in her lot with those who were struggling for social righteousness in the early nineteenth century. So she is not to-day as truly the Church of Englishmen as she was meant to be in the days of Elizabeth. Let us learn with Hook

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once more what the spirit of English Catholicism as laid down in the sixteenth century really is, and gain inspiration from his life and work to make our parishes into little bits of England where Christ is known and loved.

IV

F. W. ROBERTSON

“ Edward Irving, as you will remember, in an ordination charge, said to a young Scottish minister : ‘ Be the clergyman always, less than the clergyman never ! ’ Robertson’s words would rather have been : ‘ Be the man always, the Christian man, and less than the man never.’ The priestly self-consciousness implied in Irving’s counsel would have been intolerable to Robertson ; and he believed that by simply being a man to his ‘ brother men ’ he could best by his living ‘ show that glory of the Divine Son ’ which he ‘ set forth ’ with such power in his preaching.”— Quoted in a letter from a friend : *Life of F. W. Robertson*, II, Appendix i.

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THE year 1853, in which Robertson died, provides a useful division of the nineteenth century into two halves. Up till then there had been fifteen years of war followed by thirty-seven of peace. Europe had been laying the foundations of a new life, but it was still only the foundations. What was to be built on them was not yet clear. Many changes had been going on, but the changes were to be far more rapid in the second half of the century. The prominent characteristics of the time were uncertainty and hope.

In European politics the foundation of the second French Empire by Napoleon III marked the end of the upheaval which had begun in France by the downfall of Louis Philippe in 1848. Already in 1850 the old monarchies had been restored in Germany, and now the new Government in France stood for order and progress under an enlightened despotism. England had maintained order when threatened by social disturbance. The working class had been given freedom to combine in 1824 by the repeal of the Combination Laws. Some of the larger Trade Unions date from this time and did useful work in uniting workmen to protect themselves against low wages and hard conditions of life. The Poor Law of 1834, which abolished out-door relief and established workhouses, indirectly benefited the workman by

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relieving the middle class of the heavy rates for the poor, which had checked enterprise and hampered the flow of capital. The work of Sir Robert Peel and Lord Shaftesbury in the Mines Act of 1842 and the Factory Acts of 1833 and 1834 had helped to raise the standard of life among the labourers. The grants for education, small as they were, were doing something to teach the rising generation how to read and write. The demand for the Charter summed up the ideals of the working man at this time, but its failure in 1848 left the middle classes with a sense of thankfulness at the maintenance of law and order and a fear of the possibility of future disorder. The experiment of Free Trade introduced by the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846 had at first been feared as likely to lead to unemployment and disorder, but it had been found only to increase our wealth by the supply of cheap raw materials, and there was a satisfactory consciousness of national well-being at the time of the Great Exhibition of 1851. The Ministry of Lord Aberdeen in 1852 looked forward to a series of gradual and far-reaching reforms which would have recalled the years after 1832.

On the Continent of Europe and in England the year 1852 seemed to mark the end of the old era with its changes and disturbances, and there was good hope for the new period about to begin. To this hope the great development in machinery and in the means of communication in the previous fifty years greatly contributed. The use of steam for ships began about 1812 and developed quickly. The first railway between Stockton and Darlington had

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been opened in 1825 and between 1825 and 1850 had come an enormous expansion of railway enterprise and lines had been laid all over the country. This changed the whole of industrial life, as passengers and goods could be taken anywhere in what had hitherto been an incredibly quick time. Another important factor of change was the introduction of the penny post in 1840, by which correspondence became cheap for all and brought the world together in a new consciousness that distance had been overcome. The electric telegraph followed in 1843 and in 1851 came the first submarine cable between Dover and Calais. By all these different inventions the world was conscious of a new sense of oneness. Barriers were broken down and the calculations of time completely changed. Yet even greater changes were still to come in the later years of the century, when men more fully realised the extent to which use could be made of these inventions.

The growth of the British Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century was another important fact. It was wholly changed by the existence of railways and steamships and the telegraph. Instead of consisting of various isolated territories and islands, it now began to be a unity, between the parts of which communication could become quick and regular. When by 1845 the voyage from London to Calcutta was shortened from six months to six weeks, the possibilities that lay before a naval Empire became infinitely greater than before. But as yet there was hardly any theory of Empire. Our naval supremacy in the wars of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had given us possession of

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certain parts of the world's surface. But we hardly knew yet what to do with them. There was India, where we had had an interest ever since the East India Company first went there in 1600. We possessed an enormous part of India, thanks to successful wars and wise statesmanship, and there seemed to be no question now about our authority throughout the whole country. Lord Wellesley, Lord Hastings and Lord Hardinge had all added new areas, and the East India Company, which had begun as a mere trading company, had become one of the most powerful rulers of the world. No one could foresee the danger that was to come in five years' time. We had acted as traders and conquerors and masters. We had yet to learn our responsibilities as rulers.

Since 1778 Australia had belonged to us, but so little did we think of it that since 1788 we had used Botany Bay, its one town, as a convict colony. Only gradually, between 1820 and 1840, was the number of convicts diminished and then free settlers began to come out. But their number was very small till the discovery of gold between 1848 and 1851 in New South Wales, which led to the formation of the separate colony of Victoria in 1851. This led us in 1852 to realise for the first time that Australia was really important. Englishmen only began to settle in New Zealand in 1839 and for some time there was fighting with the Maoris, especially between the years 1843 and 1847. By the middle of the century we were masters of the island, but hardly anyone foresaw its great future except its two apostles, Samuel Marsden and George Augustus Selwyn. Canada was an old colony which had been much

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strengthened by the settlement of loyalist colonists from the United States after the outbreak of the American War in 1776. In 1836 and 1837 there was war between the French population of the East and the English. It was put down, and after a visit by Lord Durham a new constitution was given to Canada, which united Upper and Lower Canada into one whole and gave it self-government. This was something new in colonial history and its success was full of hope for the later half of the century. In South Africa we had first settled in 1806 at Cape Town and since then had had frequent trouble with the Dutch Boers who were settled inland behind Cape Town long before we came. By 1852 Cape Colony was in our hands, but the Orange Free State and the Transvaal were independent countries in the hands of the Boers. The country did not seem important, as the only industry was farming. No one dreamed yet of the presence of valuable mineral wealth. The oldest colonies we had were the West Indies, and these had been ruined in 1834 by the freedom of the slaves and the competition of beet-root sugar in Europe. They seemed to be of very little value by the middle of the century. But the Empire was in existence in 1852, bound together by the new means of communication. Thoughtful Englishmen were beginning to feel after a theory of Empire, but the real meaning of this great union of free peoples was hidden from the men of the first half of the century.¹

The learning of the time still centred round

¹ J. A. Williamson. *The Foundation and Growth of the British Empire*. Part IV.

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classics and mathematics and natural science was only in its infancy. Sir Alfred Lyell had produced his *Principles of Geology* in 1830, but Darwin's *Origin of Species* did not appear till 1859. Man was beginning, however, to realise what his new command over nature by means of steam and electricity might mean in years to come. It was more and more to the material world that his thoughts were turning and to some extent the general hold of Christianity was being weakened. In Germany the literary criticism of the Bible had begun with Strauss's *Life of Christ* in 1835, but this by the middle of the century had hardly penetrated the average thoughtful Christian in England, where the Bible as God's infallible Word still maintained its old authority. Men were feeling their way after new ideals, but it was not till the second half of the century that natural science became the basis of their thinking or such great ideas as Socialism and Imperialism became familiar to all educated people. Tennyson, in his *In Memoriam*, published in 1850, expresses the thought of this time in his vague yearning for a nobler future and his loyalty to Christianity in spite of all doubts :

He fought his doubts and gathered strength
He would not make his judgment blind,
He faced the spectres of his mind
And laid them : thus he came at length

To find a stronger faith his own.
And power was with him in the night
Which makes the darkness and the light
And dwells not in the light alone.¹

¹ Tennyson. *In Memoriam*, xcvi.

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How far was the Church preparing herself to meet these new ideas? By 1853 the Church had reached a definite stage in her development. We have seen something of the work of the Evangelicals and of the Tractarians. But quietly and almost unrecognised the foundations of her improved organisation and administration were being laid before 1853, and on them a great structure was to be built later. The first great step forward in administration was the appointment of the Ecclesiastical Commission in 1836. Its great purpose was to make better use of the revenues of the Church by an equalisation of its revenues. Instead of a very few wealthy bishoprics and other high offices with large stipends, a common fund was created from the revenues belonging to the Sees and the Cathedral Chapters, and certain lands which were Church property, and from this fund the Bishops were to be paid fixed adequate stipends, cathedrals were to be staffed by a Dean and four Canons, who were to be paid from the fund, and the large surplus was to be used for the advantage of the Church and especially for the augmentation of the incomes of the poorer clergy and the encouragement of the creation of new parishes. The quiet work of the Commissioners has perhaps meant more for the steady growth of the Church in the last ninety years than any single cause. It has helped in the creation of new Sees, it has made possible the carving out of new parishes in the wisest way possible by helping what has already been done by voluntary effort, and has made possible schemes of Church extension in poor districts which, without its help, could never have been attempted.

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It has supplied financial stability to the Church in the difficult years that have followed since 1836.¹ The same year saw a great change in the collection of tithe, which had been the chief source of the Church's revenue. Up till then it was difficult to collect and often resisted by those who were hostile or indifferent to the Church. In 1836 the Tithe Act ended the payment of tithes in kind. They were turned into a rent-charge paid in money by the landlord instead of a payment made by the tenant. It was a great help to the finance of the Church that there should be a money tax levied at the same rate throughout the country instead of the inconvenient and arbitrary levy of a tenth of the produce.² After 1836, then, the Church was financially in a far better position than before to meet the responsibilities of the future.

Another subject in which the Church was concerned at this time was national education. At the beginning of the nineteenth century very little was done to provide teaching for the children of the working class. Sunday Schools had been founded in 1780 by Robert Raikes and in 1811 "the National Society for the Promotion of the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church" was founded. A similar Nonconformist society, the British and Foreign School Society, was started in 1814. Both Societies made use of the system of pupil teachers and both secured the building and maintenance of elementary schools throughout the country, but it was unfortunate that from the first

¹ Warre Cornish. *Church of England in Nineteenth Century*, i, 108-114.

² Warre-Cornish, i, 118-122.

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the spirit of sectarian rivalry should have entered into the schemes for national education. The Church was in possession of about three-quarters of the schools of the country when in 1833 the first Government grant of £20,000 was given to the two societies in proportion to the number of their schools. In 1839 a special Committee of the Privy Council was appointed to deal with the grants made to these schools, and inspectors were appointed. In the same year, St. Mark's College, Chelsea, for the training of teachers in Church schools, was founded. The Church was still in a commanding position in the number and maintenance of elementary schools, but the question of secular education was already being mooted without success in 1843 by Joseph Hume, in order to placate the Nonconformists. Payments were still made by parents and grants from the local rates, though discussed, were not yet authorised. The Church was doing what it could, but neither Church nor State realised the magnitude of the task which national education was to lay upon them in the second half of the century.¹

In another direction the Church was laying the foundations of a great work of the future, i.e. the extension of the Church overseas. It began with the extension of the Episcopate to India, when Thomas Fanshaw Middleton was consecrated first Bishop of Calcutta in 1813, and to this See were added those of Madras in 1835 and Bombay in 1837. But progress in India was slow till after the Mutiny and the abolition of the East India Company in 1858. The first Bishop in Australia was William Grant Broughton,

¹ Warre-Cornish, i, ch. x.

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who was consecrated in 1836 and achieved the creation of three more dioceses, Melbourne, Newcastle and Adelaide in 1847. New Zealand was given her first Bishop in George Augustus Selwyn in 1841. In the year 1847 Robert Gray became the first Bishop of Cape Town, and so began the development of the Church in South Africa. Canada had already had her first Bishop in John Jacob Mountain, of Quebec, in 1793. To this had been added five more Sees by 1850, Toronto, Nova Scotia, Fredericton, Montreal and Rupertsland. There were four dioceses in the West Indies. The extension of the Church outside the Empire was beginning. But two facts must be remembered. Asia was still largely closed to missionary work, for China and Japan refused all foreign settlement and the Turkish Empire was strong and hostile. Africa was still practically an unknown land, for Livingstone did not cross the continent until 1857. Yet even in 1853 missionary work had been started in Sierra Leone and Nigeria. The years of the growth of the Church in the Empire and beyond it had begun.¹

In these various ways the Church was being prepared for her greater tasks in the coming years. Would her message change at all to meet the changing times? "No," said the Evangelical as he clung to the infallible Bible, "but we must take the Gospel to the poor at home and the heathen abroad." "Yes," said the Tractarian, "we must go back to the belief and practice of the mediæval Church when Christendom was one." But there was another School in the Church that was at

¹ Warre-Cornish, ii, xvii, xviii.

present little heeded, but sought to make the message of Christianity more progressive to meet the needs of the time. That was the Liberal or Broad Church School. One of its leaders was Richard Whateley, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and afterwards Archbishop of Dublin. Another was Thomas Arnold, also a Fellow of Oriel and Head Master of Rugby, who wished to broaden the Church by inducing all Nonconformist ministers to accept episcopal ordination, after which services for all would be possible in the parish churches. A third was Renn Dickson Hampden, who was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1836 and Bishop of Hereford in 1847, in opposition to the wishes of the Tractarians. These and others like them were trying to broaden the Church's teaching that it might look forward instead of backwards, and guide the nation in its need for spiritual leadership in the days to come. But these Broad Churchmen required a prophet, a man who would bring their teaching from the study to the pulpit and make it known widely to the rising generation of thoughtful but perplexed and doubting Englishmen. That prophet they found in Robertson.

Frederick William Robertson was born on February 3rd, 1816, in London. His father was a captain in the Royal Artillery, who retired in 1821 and lived at Beverley. In 1830, after some months in France, he sent his son to the New Academy, Edinburgh. The boy grew up with an early love for the beauty of nature and natural history. He liked games, and read widely. He had a retentive memory and always remained a student. As he grew up he

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was very anxious to become a soldier, but his father thought he was unfitted for this profession and articled his son, when he left school in 1833, to a solicitor at Bury St. Edmunds. Here his health broke down and in 1834 the boy was allowed to carry out his own desires and prepare for the army at Cheltenham, where the family was now living. At the same time he was intensely earnest about the Christian faith and believed that his vocation was to witness for God in his regiment. He was promised a commission in a cavalry regiment and for two years he prepared himself for his career. But the commission never came. He read widely in military history and in theology and poetry. In 1837 he met a clergyman in Cheltenham who tried to persuade him to take Holy Orders, but he at first refused. When, however, he found that his father wished him to become a clergyman, he left the decision in his hands. His father decided that his son was more fitted to be ordained than to be a soldier and sent him up to Oxford, where he matriculated at Brasenose College on May 4th, 1837.¹ Five days afterwards came the offer of a commission in a cavalry regiment, but this was declined and Robertson never really regretted that he had forsaken the army for the ministry.

In Oxford the Tractarian leaders tried to win his allegiance. But he never liked their opinions and retained his previous doctrinal views, which were those of the Evangelical School, with a decided leaning to moderate Calvinism.² He read steadily but did not

¹ Stopford Brooke. *Life of F. W. Robertson*, i, 14.

² *Life*, i, 18.

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try for an Honours degree. He was specially fond of Plato and Butler and was always a lover of poetry. He lived almost in seclusion and made but few friends. He was a frequent speaker at the debates at the Union, but without achieving distinction. He took his degree in 1840 and at once began reading for his ordination. “Consistently and actively among the temptations of Oxford he had lived a Christian life and grown in Christian experience and now his realisation of Christ as his Saviour and his personal Friend was as deep and vivid as the love and labour which grew out of it into ministerial faithfulness. This was the cumulative result of many years of prayer and struggle.”¹ He was ordained on July 12th, 1840, at Winchester and became a curate at St. Maurice’s Church in that city. He had great influence through his sermons and devoted much time to the Sunday Schools and to the training of the teachers. His way of life was most regular and simple. “Study all the morning; in the afternoon hard fagging at visitation of the poor in the closest and dirtiest streets of Winchester. His evenings were spent sometimes alone, but very often with his rector.”² Prayer was his constant resource. In his hours of gloom he would often retire and pray alone till he realised God’s presence.³ He did not stay long at Winchester, as he became ill and was in 1841 ordered abroad. He had become introspective and despondent about himself and needed fresh air and exercise. He travelled along the Rhine and in Switzerland, where he spent much time in Geneva. He met many people and the holi-

¹ *Life*, i, 46.

² *Life*, i, 58.

³ *Life*, i, 60.

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day improved his bodily health and broadened and soothed his mind. At Geneva he met Helen Denys and married her before the end of 1841, and in 1842 he became curate of Christ Church at Cheltenham, where he stayed until 1847. He had a social charm which won him many friends in his parish and outside it. He spent much of his time reading and found in German metaphysics the philosophical background of his Christian faith, which helped him to appeal to thoughtful men and women. His sermons were already being recognised as unusually able and yet he was not happy in his ministry. He thought that when he preached he was unintelligible to his hearers and he gradually came to believe that his whole ministry was a failure. Yet he was really winning for himself a position of Christian leadership very unusual in a curate of twenty-six. A paper of his, dated 1843, shows something of his self-mastery at this time. "Early rising is to commence the day with an act of self-denial. It redeems the time for early prayer. Late rising is the prelude to a day in which everything seems to go wrong."¹

At Cheltenham he found that Evangelicalism was strong and that the Tractarians were denounced, and that so strongly that his faith in Evangelicalism was weakened. In 1843 he faced up to his whole religious position and went through a period of spiritual struggle before he came to his later, fuller faith. He went abroad again in 1846 and spent some time at Heidelberg, where he plunged deeply into German metaphysics and theology. For a time he doubted whether he ought to retain his Orders. He

¹ *Life*, i, 92, 93.

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thought of looking out for a small country parish where he would have to deal only with a few poor people. He finally decided to resign his curacy at Cheltenham in 1847. He accepted the vicarage of St. Ebbe's, Oxford, instead. He was now not a definite Evangelical nor a Tractarian, though he sympathised with the best in both schools of thought. One was his Captain, even Christ, and he did not care, provided he fought under Him, to what regiment he belonged.¹ At Oxford, with his newer, deeper faith, he preached so that the undergraduates crowded to hear him.² But he had not been there two months before he was offered and accepted the charge of Trinity Chapel, Brighton, where he arrived in August, 1847. Now he saw clearly. From henceforward his religious convictions never wavered and the principles of his teaching never changed. As his peculiar views developed themselves, many of the old congregation left the church. Their places rapidly filled up. "Thoughtful and eager-minded men came in by degrees from all parts of Brighton, attracted not only by his earnest eloquence, but by his original thought and clear reasoning. He drew out the living inspiration of the Bible and especially of the historical portions of the Old Testament. He made men feel the life which ran through the doctrinal portions of the Prayer Book. Whatever he touched sprang into being and many of his hearers entered on a new existence."³ "He had long had a presentiment that his work would kill him in a few years. He resolved to crowd into this short time all he could. He had

¹ *Life*, i, 137.

² *Life*, i, 138.

³ *Life*, i, 145.

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long felt that Christianity was too much preached as theology, too little as the religion of daily life : too much as a religion of feeling, too little as a religion of principles : too much as a religion for individuals, too little as a religion for nations and for the world. He determined to make it bear upon the social state of all classes, upon the questions which agitated society, upon the great movements of the world.”¹

Thus a course of lectures in 1848 on *i Samuel* involved speaking on most of the questions in debate at that time, and this troubled or frightened many. He describes in connection with these criticisms his method of preaching in a letter to the Bishop : “I should say that the word extempore does not exactly describe the way I preach. I first make copious notes : then draw out a form : afterwards write copiously, sometimes twice or thrice, the thoughts, to disentangle them, into a connected whole : then make a syllabus ; and, lastly, a skeleton, which I take into the pulpit.”² Another form of his activity began in 1848 with the formation of a Working Men’s Institute at Brighton, at the opening of which he gave an address. This he felt it important to do in order that he might show his sympathy with working men at a time when they were feared by the middle class because of the Charter. The elevation of the working class meant to most men at that time the destruction of the aristocracy and the monarchy : to own any sympathy with a Chartist was to acknowledge oneself a dangerous character. But supported by his faith in truth, Robertson helped the working men at Bright-

¹ *Life*, i, 148.

² *Life*, i, 151.

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ton, and they felt that at last a minister of the Church of England had entered into their aspirations and their wrongs.¹

During 1849 his influence in Brighton rapidly increased. His chapel became crowded to the doors. His sermons grew more weighty and more eloquent. He gave himself up to quiet and continuous work, he visited the poor and drew around him young men of the class so little touched by the Church, the clerks and the shopkeepers' assistants.² He spent a great deal of time in correspondence, for his advice on spiritual matters was asked by an ever-growing number of people. He had a deeply sympathetic nature and this led him to make friends easily with many types of people. He had in consequence a wonderful capacity for dealing with men who recognised in him a man who understood the layman's point of view. He easily adapted himself to the company in which he found himself and was specially happy among children. He was a lover of nature and often found rest and relief from the anxieties of his work by visiting beautiful scenery on the Continent or at home. He found some of the most apt illustrations in his sermons from memories of beautiful places he had seen or scenery that he had enjoyed. Like Kingsley, he felt that beauty in woman had a spiritual meaning. "Perhaps," he writes, "no man can attain the highest excellence who is insensible to sensuous beauty. Sensuous beauty leaves the heart unsatisfied. Through the sensuous we perceive the supersensuous : through the visible the invisible loveliness."³

¹ *Life*, i, 157.

² *Life*, i, 174.

³ *Life*, i, 227, 228.

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It was now that his power of speaking was reaching its maturity. His eloquence was the result of his vivid consciousness of the message which he had to deliver. He was a prophet commissioned to speak in his Master's name. He prepared his message carefully and used all the resources of his wide reading and his active imagination to carry his appeal straight to his hearers' hearts. The secret of that appeal was his love of his unseen Lord. All the new truth that was breaking in on theology at this time only showed Robertson the growing splendour of the Master in whose name he spoke.

As his teaching grew in clearness the opposition grew, and though his own followers steadily increased, religious people in Brighton were frightened by his views on Sunday observance, the atonement, the inspiration of the Bible and baptism. This opposition wearied him and made him conscious of a great loneliness among his brother-clergy and fellow Christians. He still continued his relations with the working men in their Institute and in 1850 delivered a great speech against the introduction of sceptical books into their library. " You have a right to read your books and to inquire and to examine for yourselves : but I put it to you, brother men, have you a right to force into an Institution shared by others books which are to them disgusting ? Is that liberty ? If you say you are to furnish books for the tastes of all supporters, then you are bound to furnish those which shall meet the wishes of all and be disagreeable to none."¹ His letters touch on a great variety of subjects and his reading is very

¹ *Lectures, Addresses and Literary Remains*, pp. 58, 62.

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wide. In one letter, written in 1850, he touched on the problem of suffering. "Pain," he says, "has long ceased to be an unintelligible mystery to me. Agony and anguish—oh, in these, far more than in sunshine, I can read a meaning and believe in infinite Love. Goodness is better than happiness; and if pain be the minister of goodness, I can see that it is a proof of Love to debar happiness; nor am I moved from this conviction by exceptional cases, by perceiving that sometimes the result seems opposite, or by seeing that, as in the brute creation, it falls in apparent wantonness without any result beyond suffering. I am so certain that all is right that nothing of this kind, mental or physical, disturbs me."¹ In another letter of the same year he throws a flood of light on the nature of sin. "Sin is the genus of which a few particular manifestations are but the species. The will which has shaken itself free from God's will is the central principle of sin. It matters not how it shows itself."² After the publication of the Gorham Judgment he writes: "Baptism is the grand special revelation to an individual by name, A, B, or C, of the great truth Christ revealed to the race, that all, Greeks and barbarians, are the children of God. It is the fact which they are to believe, a fact before they believe it, else how could they be asked to believe it? Faith does not create the fact, it only receives it. Baptism is the visible declaration of this, saying, 'Now, remember you are a child of God, from henceforth live as such.'"³ To live as such—to believe it and realise it—is to become regenerate. "To all intents and

¹ *Life*, i, 295, 296.

² *Life*, i, 306.

³ *Life*, i, 330, 331.

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purposes the fact (of our being the children of God) is valueless until revealed just as the child of a sovereign might be living as the son of a pirate, if he had been kidnapped and did not know his parentage ; but all the value of the revelation depends upon the circumstance that it is a revelation of a fact, and not the demand of a sentiment, nor the performance of a miracle, nor the fabrication of a new relation.”¹

In 1851 very little occurred to disturb the ordinary preaching and teaching which Robertson conducted in his church. He was brought into touch with the Christian Socialists by giving one of a series of sermons at a church in London in June. But though he admired Maurice and Kingsley, he never really belonged to their party. His health declined as the year went on, but his work did not suffer nor his energy decrease. He bore up nobly and endured as seeing Him who is invisible.² His letters in this year are as interesting as ever. “The condition of arriving at truth,” he says, “is not severe habits of investigation, but innocence of life and humbleness of heart.”³ In another letter he defines faith. “Consider what faith is. It is that strong buoyant confidence in God and in His love which gives energy and spirit to do right without doubt or despondency.”⁴

In 1852 he was preaching with growing success but with a greater consciousness of illness. In January he writes : “Do you know Tennyson’s *In Memoriam*? It is the most precious work pub-

¹ *Life*, i, 334.

² *Life*, ii, 18.

³ *Life*, ii, 38.

⁴ *Life*, ii, 59.

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lished this century—written in memory of his friend Arthur Hallam, and exhibiting the manifold phases through which the spirit passes, of rebellion, darkness, doubt, through the awful questions about personal identity hereafter, reunion, and the uncertainty whether Love be indeed the law of the universe, on to placid trust, even cheerfulness, and the deep conviction—all is well. To me it has been the richest treasure I have had.”¹ It was perhaps the story of his own soul’s pilgrimage. In this year he gave two lectures at the Institute on the influence of poetry on the working classes, which were greatly appreciated, and he was much pleased by the presentation of an address from eighty young men in his congregation in gratitude for his teaching. He shows something of the nature of the message which won these men in a letter written in 1852. “I could not tell you too strongly my own and deepening conviction that the truths which I teach are true. Every year they shed fresh light on one another and seem to stretch into immensity. They explain to me life, God and the Bible, and I am certain that what fresh light I shall receive, will be an expansion and not a contradiction of what I have.”² His reading was as extensive as ever and shows the way in which he found time to devour books on all kinds of subjects. He has some interesting remarks now about inspiration. “I hold the Bible to be inspired not dictated. . . . I hold it as a proof of the inspiration of the Bible, and divinely wise, to have given a spiritual revelation, i.e. a revelation concerning the truths of the soul and its rela-

¹ *Life*, ii, 76, 77.

² *Life*, ii, 100.

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tion to God, in popular and incorrect language. Do not mistake that word incorrect : incorrect is one thing, false another.”¹

In 1853 the pain of his illness became much greater, and yet his sermons were among the most striking he ever preached. He gives us his theory of the Sacraments thus : “The Sacraments, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, are representative symbols. One day was set apart to sanctify all time : one tribe to make all the nation holy : one nation to make the whole world the Kingdom of God. In this way the race was educated. On the same principle God has divinely ordained two material acts to represent the truth that all nature is holy when everything in it reveals His sacredness to men : that all acts are holy when done in the spirit of Christ. Water, the simplest element, represents the sacredness and awfulness of all things. By the consecration of the commonest act of life—a meal—every act is made holy.”² He did not shrink in his sermons from meeting the difficulties of doctrine in the English Church, though he belonged to no party. Yet he had a fixed basis for his teaching. It was the Divine, human life of Christ. In teaching this he believed that “belief in the human character of Christ must be antecedent to belief in His divine origin.”³ The Incarnation was to him the centre of all history, the blossoming of humanity.⁴ “Day by day, with passionate imitation he followed his Master, musing on every action, revolving in thought the interdependence of all that Christ had

¹ *Life*, ii, 139.

² *Life*, ii, 156.

³ *Life*, ii, 159.

⁴ *Life*, ii, 160.

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said and done, weaving into the fibre of his heart the principles of the life he worshipped, till he had received into his being the very image and impression of that unique Personality.”¹ He explains in another letter his criticism of the Tractarians. “I cannot conceal my conviction that the vice of High Churchism is in its tendency to exaggerate the personality of the Eternal Being by localising Deity in acts, places, etc. I do think this is a very common and very dangerous tendency.”²

As the year 1853 went on his strength lessened. His congregation offered to provide him with a curate, but the Vicar of Brighton would not allow it. On June 5th Robertson preached his last sermon and after this he was confined to his room with the cerebral disease which was very painful and which was to prove fatal. On August 15th he died at the early age of thirty-seven. He had only been incumbent of Holy Trinity Chapel, Brighton, for six years. But they were the years of the middle of the nineteenth century, when England was pausing after the first fifty years and wondering what lay before her in the fifty years to come. With the leading ideas of those coming years hardly yet formulated, she looked to the Church for guidance. She found what she wanted in Frederick William Robertson. “He lived troubled on every side yet not distressed : perplexed yet not in despair : persecuted yet not forsaken : cast down but not destroyed : always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in his body.”³

¹ *Life*, ii, 161.

² *Life*, ii, 173.

³ *Life*, ii, 225 ; 2 Cor. iv, 8-10.

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He was so essentially a preacher that no account of him would be satisfactory which did not send readers to his sermons, now published in four volumes and easily accessible. They touch on doctrine and history and the problems of the time. But they are all based on the Bible, the authority of which is regarded as undisputed, and they all depend on the underlying belief in the divinity of our Lord. They are clear, divided into sections so that the argument can be easily followed and the conclusion is always brought out with a telling emphasis. They are a remarkable combination of eloquence, argument, human appeal and devotion to the Master in whose name each one was preached.

There is his Confirmation address preached in 1849 on the Parable of the Sower. He deals with the causes of failure to live the Christian life. The first is the want of spiritual perception. These are the seeds that fell by the wayside. . . . It is not the wrongness of the impressions which treads religion down, but only this that outside religion yields in turn to other impressions which are stronger. A second cause of failure is want of depth in character. Some fell on stony ground. Shallow soil is like superficial character. When religion comes in contact with persons of this stamp, it shares the fate of everything else. It is taken up in a superficial way. Once more impressions come to nothing when the mind is subjected to dissipating influences and yields to them. Some fell among thorns. The heart has a certain power of loving. But love, dissipated on many objects, concentrates itself on none. God or the world, not both. There is a way God their

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Father has of dealing with such which is no pleasant thing to bear. In agriculture it is called weeding. It is a painful thing, that weeding work. For the permanence of religious impressions this parable suggests three requirements. An honest and good heart. Earnestness, that is, sincerity of purpose. This earnestness is the first requisite for real success in everything. Meditation is the second requisite for permanence. They keep the word which they have heard. Meditation is done in silence. There is a divine depth in silence. We meet God alone. The third requisite is endurance. They bring forth fruit with patience. This is the patience for us to cultivate, to bear and to preserve. It is the work of a long life to be a Christian. Both when we advance and when we fail, we gain. We are nearer to God than we were. Our Father which art in heaven lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil.¹

Or there is the sermon on the sympathy of Christ preached in 1849. The subject has two branches.

(1) The Redeemer's preparation for his Priesthood. The preparation consists in being tempted. Scripture plainly asserts this as the character of Christ's temptation. Not merely test, but trial. Here we see the nature of sin. Sin is not the possession of desires, but the having them in uncontrolled ascendancy over the higher nature. What we mean when we say that the natural man must sin inevitably is this, that he has strong natural appetites and that he has no bias from above to counteract those appetites. Contrast this with the state of Christ. There were in Him all the natural appetites of mind

¹ *Sermons by F. W. Robertson, I, ii; Matt. xiii, 1-9.*

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and body—hunger, pain, death. He could feel all and shrink from them. If the gratification of any of these inclinations was inconsistent with His Father's will, would the spirit of obedience reverse every feeling in human nature? In this way the temptation of Christ caused suffering. He suffered from the force of desire. Though there was no hesitation whether to obey or not, in the act of mastery there was pain.

(2) The Redeemer's priestly qualifications. All is based on His sympathy. He can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities. The priestly powers conveyed by this faculty of sympathising are two : the power of mercy and the power of having grace to help in time of need. The conclusions to be drawn are two : (i) He who would sympathise must be content to be tried and tempted ; (ii) It is this same human sympathy which qualifies Christ for judgment.¹

Another great sermon was that preached in 1850 on the victory of faith. This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. The text branches into a twofold line of thought. (1) The Christian's enemy, the world. Here there is (a) The tyranny of the present. Worldliness is the attractive power of something present in opposition to something to come. One great secret of the world's victory lies in the mighty power of saying "Now." (b) The tyranny of the sensual. It is tyranny because the evidences of the senses are all-powerful in spite of the protestations of reason. (c) The spirit of society. The spirit of the world is for ever altering—in our

¹ *Sermons by F. W. Robertson*, I, vii ; Heb. iv, 15, 16.

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time, perhaps, it is the love of money, a thing in my heart and yours, to be struggled against in the silent battle in our own souls.

(2) The victory of faith. Faith is the principle on which alone any human superiority can be gained. When in reliance upon your promise, your child gives up the half-hour's idleness of to-day for the holiday of to-morrow, he lives by faith : a future supersedes the present pleasure. The merchant who forecasts, saves, denies himself systematically through years to amass a fortune is not a very lofty being yet he is higher as a man than he who is sunk in mere bodily gratifications. The difference between the faith of the Christian and that of the man of the world is not a difference in mental operation but in the object of faith—to believe that Jesus is the Christ is the peculiarity of Christian faith. None can anticipate such a heaven as God has revealed except they are born of the Spirit : therefore to believe that Jesus is the Christ, a man must be born of God : and to love God, to be like God, to have the mind of Christ, is the only heaven.¹

One of his last sermons preached in March, 1853, was called the pre-eminence of charity and explains what charity is and what it does.

i. *What Charity is :*

(a) It is the desire to give. Let each man ask himself what that mysterious longing means, which we call love. I say it means the desire to bless. The love whereof the Bible speaks is the desire for the true blessedness of the loved being. Concerning this

¹ *Sermons by F. W. Robertson, III, ii ; 1 John, v, 4, 5.*

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charity we remark two points—It is fervent, intense, e.g. in the man who can mix with men, and have his views traversed and still be gentle and forbearing. Again it is capable of being cultivated—by doing acts which love demands. Let a man begin in earnest with “I ought”: he will end by God’s grace in “I will.”

(b) The second way of cultivating Christian love is by contemplating the love of God. We love Him because He first loved us. A man may doubt anything and everything and still be blessed if only he holds fast the conviction, God is love.

(2) *What Charity does :*

It covers a multitude of sins, in three ways :

(a) In refusing to see small faults. The Christian Spirit knows what it is wise not to see.

(b) It covers sin by making large allowances. The Christian loves to go deep down and see why a man came to do wrong and whether there was not some excuse or some redeeming cause in order that he may be just.

(c) Charity can tolerate even intolerance. Earth has not a spectacle more glorious or more fair to show than this—love tolerating intolerance : charity covering, as with a veil, even the sin of the lack of charity.¹

Such was Frederick William Robertson the man, the times in which he lived and the message which he gave. What has he to teach us? Chiefly I think the tremendous importance of preaching in the work of the Christian ministry. Like him we live in an age

¹ *Sermons by F. W. Robertson*, IV, xxi; 1 Peter, iv, 8.

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of transition. There is a great hunger now as then for a real message. We are in danger of laying too little stress on the preparation and work of the preacher.

Perhaps the first essential for a good preacher is to be a reader. This comes out in the lives of all those men whom we have been examining together, and especially Hook and Robertson. It is amazing to see how much they read and we wonder how they found time for it in the day. Hook was an early riser and did most of his intellectual work before breakfast. This is an excellent ideal. But there is the other side of the question. In a town parish the clergyman must often be up late. Evening meetings, clubs, visitors who cannot come before, all occupy his time, perhaps till after ten o'clock. The time after 10 p.m. is with some men the time which they regard as their own till midnight or even later. It must be one or the other, the last hours or the first hours of the day for study, but not both. The proverbial candle must not be burnt at both ends. But it is clear that without some part of every day set aside for reading and study we cannot go on preaching fresh sermons.

Yet I know the practical difficulty of this. When I was a college tutor and my old clerical pupils used to come to see me I used to ask them how much time they gave to reading. I was disappointed if it seemed to be neglected and told them so rather forcibly. The care of a large working class parish, however, showed me the practical difficulties of daily reading. Every day brings new calls on one's time and the immediate importance of other things

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seems to make reading a thing which can be postponed. There is the preparation for a Sunday School treat, or a sick person who must be visited, or an address which must be given, or a paper which must be signed, or a hundred and one things, which need doing now and will not wait till to-morrow. To sit down to a good morning's reading may be possible for a young curate if he has an understanding vicar and it is possible for a vicar if he refuses other calls on his time. But in practice it is not easy and becomes harder as the years go on. For as a man's influence grows and he has to bear not only the responsibilities of a parish but perhaps has to take up other burdens in the Rural Deanery or in the Diocese, it becomes more and more difficult to be at leisure to read not what one must but what one would like to read for sheer enjoyment and for the development of the mind and spirit.

I have found three principles to be useful if we are to be students in our parishes. The first principle is that we should be students at the University. Undergraduates sometimes think that a man's degree does not matter if he is going to be ordained and that there are other things to be learnt at the University than the mere subjects of the Tripos or the Honours School. That seems to me to be a mistake. It is the habit of study which is needed in later life, the desire to read, whenever and wherever possible, that matters. If this habit is not gained at school or at the University, it will never be won in later life. Some of our clergy to-day are content with a low intellectual standard and put their whole energies into successful organisation or the routine of ser-

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vices because they never became students when they were younger and have missed the joy of learning without knowing what they have lost. There is more than this involved. At the University a man is building up his intellectual capital and can become, if he is an Honours student, something of an expert in one subject at any rate. The more he can add to his capital the better for his later usefulness. For the tendency in later life is to spend our intellectual capital faster than we can ever replenish it. But if so, it is all important to have as much knowledge as possible. To go out into our parishes without either the love of learning or a store of knowledge is to be unable really to lead our people because we are too ignorant. I have also noticed that in parish life, as in everything else, the trained mind is more capable in dealing with mere matters of routine and administration than one without that advantage. The person who knows how to think and who is interested in tackling and solving new problems quickly takes the lead among the laity who respect him not only as their spiritual adviser, but as a man who can meet them on their own ground and beat them. If you then want to be good preachers afterwards you cannot be wrong in being good students now. That is the foundation on which all else depends. If we are to teach others we must always go on learning ourselves, and if we do not love learning while we are young and are sent to the University for that purpose, we shall hardly go on learning when we are out in the world in later life.

A second useful principle is to have a definite intellectual objective. That objective I used to find

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in the sermons themselves. It is difficult to be systematic or regular in reading unless there is some plan in it all. Novels and newspapers can take up a man's whole time and leave nothing for anything more serious. Our main work as preachers is to present the Gospel of Jesus Christ in terms which the men and women of the twentieth century can understand. That was Robertson's view of his work, and that should be ours. We need to base our sermons and our addresses on our reading and not to preach merely our own ideas and keep other people's ideas for our own private refreshment or amusement. I have found in practice that I have been most helpful to other people in a sermon when I have taken some subject or some passage in the Bible which has perplexed me, or raised some intellectual or moral problem, and have then read some book or chapter or article about it and have told my people what the writer says and whether his views seem to me satisfactory or not. We have various books upon our shelves and we need to bring the thoughts and ideas of better scholars than ourselves into our teaching. We sometimes want to be original and startling. We ought to be patient in reading what others have written and to give our hearers what we have learnt from these greater minds rather than what we have merely thought ourselves. Our main reading will of course be theological, of which more will be said in the next lecture. To-day I would only recommend to you the study of the sermons of great preachers. This is a department of literature by itself and of great interest to us. To see how the great masters of the art have

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in actual practice worked out their ideas and put them into words is to frame our sermons on the best models. Begin with Bishop Phillips Brooks's *Lectures on Preaching*. "These are the two elements of preaching, truth and personality. The truth is in itself a fixed and stable element ; the personality is a varying and growing element. In the union of the two we have the provision for the combination of identity with variety, of stability with growth, in the preaching of the Gospel."¹ "The sermon is God's message sent by you to certain of your fellow men."² "Learn to study for the sake of truth, learn to think for the profit and the joy of thinking. Then your sermon shall be like the leaping of a fountain and not like the pumping of a pump."³ Read the published sermons of F. W. Robertson and you will find in them a variety and an earnestness and a passion for truth which has seldom been equalled. I have found more than once that to make one of his sermons the basis of one's own is to bring our people to-day into touch with a great thinker of eighty years ago. Then there are the eight volumes of Newman's Sermons, any one of which is full of helpful ideas, clothed in masterly English. Liddon's sermons are still well worth reading, though sometimes rather rhetorical. But his sermons in St. Paul's on Christmas Day and Easter Day and his *Elements of Religion* are still worth passing on to congregations to-day. Some of the sermons of Dean Church may well come back to our people through us in the

¹ Phillips Brooks. *Lectures on Preaching*, p. 28.

² Phillips Brooks. *Lectures on Preaching*, p. 122.

³ Phillips Brooks. *Lectures on Preaching*, p. 160.

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twentieth century, especially *Human Life and its Conditions*, and *The Gifts of Civilisation* and *Some Influences of Christianity upon National Character*. Many of the sermons of men like C. J. Vaughan, F. D. Maurice and B. F. Westcott are worth more than the mere oblivion of our fathers' bookshelves. They are the exposition of Christianity as the great minds of the later nineteenth century realised it in all the first joy of assimilating the new truth of that great period. He who passes on something of their message is like "an householder which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old."¹ Recent ideas on methods of preaching are to be found in our religious newspapers and not least from the religious article in *The Times* every Saturday.

A third principle is that we should have an intellectual hobby. We have all of us probably got some subject in which we take a special interest—history or classics or natural science or economics or literature. It is a good thing to keep this up in order that we may not become merely theologians. This is what keeps us in touch with other men and other interests. This too generally begins at the University and continues afterwards. We may have taken an examination in this subject before we began to take up the subject of theology as our life's work. We may have always been interested in it as the subject of our leisure moments. But it is certainly a good thing in our parishes to have such a subject and to enjoy it for our own sakes and pass it on to others for their interest and profit. It is interesting to see

¹ St. Matthew, xiii, 52.

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what good use Hook and Robertson made of their special subjects, history in the one case and poetry in the other, in the lectures they frequently gave to the working-men of their respective towns and parishes. I have sometimes found that popular lectures on some historical subject or period have been a means of giving me a far closer contact with men than I could otherwise have gained. In the Army during the War I often talked to little groups of soldiers about other wars or different areas of the Great War and so made friends with them in a way which would have been more difficult without such opportunities. There was a Working Men's Club in my parish to which I went not infrequently to give a popular talk on some historical subject. This started friendly relations with working men which would perhaps never have been possible without some such beginning. In the same way an interest in novels or poetry or natural science can be the means of interesting clubs for boys or girls or mothers' meetings or men's societies and making them feel that the clergy have other interests besides those of theology and the Church. If there is no other hobby which can be thus used there are always the daily and weekly newspapers. I have sometimes found that a short informal talk on current events will keep a group of boys or men interested and lead to lively discussions afterwards. Whatever interests of an intellectual kind we may have, they are, I believe, talents with which we can trade for our Master's honour in our parish life if only we do not wrap them up in a napkin and refuse to use them except for ourselves.

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The great subject for our preaching and teaching in the Church of England is the Bible. The great work of the Reformation was to make Holy Scripture the basis of authority in the Church. Our business is to expound the Scriptures. This is also what Simeon realised and hence his twenty-one volumes of sermons to make clear what the Bible taught from Genesis to Revelation. But we do not read them much now because so much fresh light has been shed on the Bible, and we have come to see that God inspired fallible men to be the means through whom He could gradually and increasingly reveal Himself to the world. That new knowledge has put Simeon's volumes out of date to-day. Yet the Bible remains the authority of our teaching as much as ever because we learn from it to trace the gradual revelation of God which reached its fulness in Jesus Christ. We need to preach the Bible in the light of the new knowledge which we have received since Simeon's time. What made Robertson's sermons so powerful was that he received his inspiration from Scripture which he always expounded, but he used what recent learning and science had taught him. I believe that the sermons which help our people most are still those which explain the Bible and follow the details of our Lord's life and bring out the meaning of His teaching or show how the events of the Old Testament explain the gradual training of the world for Christ. I have found over and over again that the actual phraseology of the Bible means more than one thought at first sight and that to bring out the full meaning of each phrase or word in a text, or in two or three verses, is to give a message

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for everyday life which nothing else can supply. Sometimes it is good to take a topic rather than a passage of Scripture as the subject of a sermon. But the number of topics is limited, while the Bible as a subject of study is inexhaustible. It is interesting to see how the great preachers of the nineteenth century, including Robertson, have found in a careful exposition of Scripture the secret of their success.

The study of the Bible brings out the great fact that Christianity is a historical religion. The Incarnation, as Robertson saw, is the central fact in the world's history. To that the Old Testament leads up. In that the New Testament centres. That is the clue to all later history. This is what we have learnt more fully since either Simeon or Robertson lived. But the knowledge of this great fact makes history the handmaid of theology and gives the study of the Old Testament its right importance. Some leaders of thought to-day are inclined to disparage the Old Testament and confine their attention and their teaching to the New. But we cannot ever really understand the meaning of the Divinity of our Lord unless we relate His life and teaching to what led up to it in Jewish history and religious ideas and see it in the light of the world's history in ancient, mediæval and modern times. The old belief in the verbal inspiration of the Bible can scarcely stand against modern historical and literary criticism. But if we can see the human limitations in the writings and, as Robertson said, the incorrectness, not the falsity of the writers, we are brought more distinctly face to face with the Divine presence in the hearts of all the writers until we see Him revealed

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once and for all to mankind in Jesus Christ. I believe that in the light of this historical study of the Bible, Holy Scripture is a far more interesting and more wonderful subject for thought than our fathers ever imagined. So far from having suffered from modern criticism, the Book has been found to have a new and thrilling message for the guidance of men in the perplexities of life in the twentieth century.

It is worth while to notice what Robertson has to tell us about the preparation of sermons. At first we ought to write them out, and read them, though this need not continue more than two years, or at any rate during the period of the Diaconate. An alternative to reading is to learn them by heart. For addresses in mission rooms and school rooms the extempore method may be suitable from the first. But as a general rule the danger of a glib mediocrity in the young clergyman's sermons is far greater than that of a possible dulness in a discourse which is read or spoken by heart. After this first period is over, it is best to aim gradually at preaching without reading. But this, as Robertson shows, involves much care beforehand. I found in practice that I thought over some passage or text or topic early in the week. Towards the end of the week I made various notes, and by Saturday I had reduced these to a small sheet of paper. With this small paper I went into the pulpit, though after I had once given out my text, I never looked at it again. But all through the sermon I was following very closely the paper which was impressed upon my memory. I give this method for what it is worth. But it at any rate has three advantages. The first is that the

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preacher is looking at his audience and he avoids a slavish adherence to his notes. The second is that a man is not speaking without careful preparation of what he is saying. The third is that his sermon has an end as well as a beginning. Sermons sometimes begin well and then come to an end without a summing-up or conclusion of the argument because the speaker has been thinking as he goes along and loses his main idea before the end, or becomes irrelevant without realising that thereby his hearers are left bewildered. With careful preparation and a good memory much can be done to make a sermon effective. But we must not aim at delivering lectures. Our business is to preach the Gospel and for that the greatest essential is the conviction of its truth. *Cor ad cor loquitur*, and out of the abundance of the heart our mouths must speak. The inspiration must come from the Master in whose name we speak, but if we are to pass on our inspiration to our hearers in the twentieth century, the message must be prepared as well as inspired.

Another important part of our work is preaching in the open-air. I believe that we all ought to do more of this than we do. It is no doubt easier to speak in church than outside it. Some would tell us that the day of open-air work is over and that people will not listen to us. But I am not sure that we are really doing the work that has been committed to us, in town parishes at any rate, unless we make some effort to carry our message into the streets. The servant in the parable was told to go out into the highways and hedges and compel them to come in. In practice I have found that there are three forms

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of open-air preaching. The first is carried out quietly in the streets of a parish on a Sunday evening after church, or on a week night, in the summer. You can find your own people at their windows or sitting outside their houses and you can speak to them as their own parish clergyman and will generally get a hearing as such. The second is to take advantage of a big street corner, if possible near a public house, or by a station, or the entrance to a public park, and catch the passers-by rather than your own parishioners. This we did with the help of the Nonconformists, and it gave a sense of union which was very helpful, but I am not sure how far it produced as lasting effects as the first method. The third is to take a pitch which is well known and frequented by men and to adopt the argumentative rather than the more devotional method of approaching them. This avoids hymns and invites questions. It is the most difficult of the three, but in many ways it is the most worth doing of all. The grace of humility, the gift of patience and the saving sense of humour are all three important in this form of work for God.

If we have learnt something about the delivery of our message from Robertson, let us remember something also about the message that he delivered, for I think it is as important now as it was then. I find myself coming back more and more to what he taught us about three great problems of the Church's life. Of Baptism he says : "I can with all my heart use the language of the catechism of the Church and say 'In baptism I was made a child of God' : just as a sovereign is made King by coronation, but only

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because he was *de jure* such before. Then he is regenerate : God's child before unconsciously, God's child now by a second birth consciously.”¹ Of the Holy Communion he says : “ It is not merely bread and wine : it is spiritually Christ's body and blood : God present spiritually, not materially, to those who receive it worthily, i.e. to the faithful. It is not Christ's body and blood to those on whose feelings and conduct it does not tell.”² On the secret of the Christian religion and the clue to his whole ministry he says : “ Christ was the Son of God. But remember in what sense He ever used this name—Son of God because Son of Man. He claims Sonship in virtue of His humanity. . . . Christ then must be loved as Son of Man before He can be adored as Son of God. In personal love and adoration of Christ the Christian religion consists, not in correct morality or in correct doctrines, but in homage to the King.”³ If that be our message too, each of us will be, like Robertson, a prophet.

¹ *Life*, ii, 61.

² *Life*, ii, 154.

³ *Life*, ii, 161.

V

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“ How dare you, young man, despair of your own nation, while its nobles can produce a Carlisle, or Ellesmere, or Ashley, a Robert Grosvenor—while its middle classes can beget a Faraday, a Stephenson, a Brooke, an Elizabeth Fry ? See, I say, what a chaos of noble materials is here—all confused, it is true—polarised, jarring and chaotic—here bigotry, there self-will, superstition, sheer Atheism often, but only waiting for the one inspiring Spirit to organise and unite and consecrate this chaos into the noblest polity the world ever saw realised ! What a destiny may be that of your land if you have but the faith to see your own honour ! Were I not of my own country, I would be an Englishman this day.”—*Yeast*, ch. xvii.

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THE twenty years between the death of Robertson and that of Charles Kingsley were of far-reaching importance in the development of England. In politics, in colonial expansion, in natural science and in theology forces which had been coming into being in the first half of the century were now beginning to change man's whole outlook on life, and the Church of England was called upon to face new problems and to readjust itself to the changing conditions.

In Europe the dominant fact was the growth of nationality, and Lord Palmerston, Prime Minister of England from 1859 till his death in 1865, largely contributed to bring this about. The policy of the Emperor of the French, Napoleon III, had a similar effect. The Liberalism which had struggled so ineffectively against reaction in the earlier half of the century was now able to help Europe and America towards the realisation of national unity and self-government. The movement began in Italy in 1859, where Napoleon brought in his army to help the Italians throw off the yoke of Austria. But after the victories of Magenta and Solferino he made peace with Austria and left Italy to complete the unity which he had begun. King Victor Emmanuel of Savoy became King of Italy, except Venice and

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Rome, in 1861. Palmerston was a keen supporter of Italy throughout this struggle. A problem of nationality in a different form was raised in 1861, by the Civil War in North America, where the South claimed the right to secede from the United States and set up a nation of their own. With this demand was coupled the maintenance of slavery. The Northern States, led by Abraham Lincoln, refused both these claims and the Southern Confederacy was beaten in 1864 and forced to remain within the Union. England's sympathies were at first with the South but turned more and more to the North as the freedom of the slaves was seen to be involved in the struggle. After Palmerston's death came the rise of Prussia which, led by Bismarck, made German nationality a reality in a series of triumphant wars. Already in 1863 the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein had been wrested from Denmark and then Prussia turned on her ally, Austria, and crushed her in the Seven Weeks' War of 1866. Then in 1870, with all Germany behind her, she attacked France and defeated her in the Franco-Prussian War, drove Napoleon III into exile and founded the German Empire. The same problem of nationality lies behind the Russo-Turkish War in 1877, when, after the terrible Bulgarian atrocities committed by the Turks on the Christians in 1876, Russia attacked and defeated the Turks. Disraeli intervened on behalf of Europe at the treaty of Berlin in 1878 and gave the Christian countries of the Balkan peninsula the independence from Turkey which they enjoyed in most cases till the end of the century. Under the impetus of the principle of nationality the map of Europe

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and the life of several nations in the old and new worlds was being wonderfully changed in these twenty years. Nor was this period less important in England. It was now that the old Tories and Whigs were becoming the new Conservatives and Liberals. Palmerston, as long as he was Prime Minister, had helped nationality abroad, but had resisted all political change at home. He was content with the constitution of 1832 and would allow no power to the working classes. His death in 1865 gave the opportunity to his great lieutenant Gladstone, who became the champion of democracy and political reform. His principle was to trust the people and to guide them by interpreting their will. His great opponent was Benjamin Disraeli, who revived Conservatism by "educating his party" to lead the working classes by giving them what was for their good. Their rivalry was keen and often bitter, yet after 1865 they helped England towards a new freedom and constitutional growth which was unknown elsewhere.

The democracy which these two great leaders were working out in practice had been developed as a theory by John Stuart Mill in his book *On Liberty*, published in 1859. The freedom of the individual was regarded as the basis of all good government, but it was the duty of the State to secure the freedom of as many individuals as possible by the extension of the franchise and the removal of all long-standing abuses. In 1867, therefore, came another Reform Bill, introduced by the Conservative Government of which Disraeli was a member. By it every man who paid rates in the boroughs was to have a vote,

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while even lodgers who paid £10 a year in rent were enfranchised. This meant that in the towns at least many working men were at last given a share in the government of the country. But the great era of political reform was from 1868 to 1874, when Gladstone was Prime Minister for the first time. He began with the Irish Church, whose privileged position he regarded as a great abuse of liberty. It was therefore disestablished and disendowed in 1869. In 1870 followed his first Irish Land Act, which obliged landlords to compensate their tenants for improvements made by them and to give them some payment if they turned them out of their holdings for any reason except non-payment of rent. In the same year came the Education Act, which gave an opportunity of elementary education for all children by creating School Boards to build schools out of the rates. In 1872 the Ballot Act was passed which gave liberty to the voter and protected him from intimidation by making the voting at elections secret. It was a great period of democratic advance only comparable to the similar period that followed the great Reform Bill of 1832.

Gladstone fell from power in 1874 because his reforms had united too many of his opponents, and Disraeli succeeded him. His home policy was a quiet development of social reform. Such acts as the Public Health Act and the Artisans' Dwellings Act in 1875 improved the standard of life in the towns, while his Employer and Workman Act regulated disputes in industrial matters for some time to come. In foreign affairs he interfered between Russia and Turkey and obtained "peace with honour" in 1878.

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His greatest contribution to our national life, however, was his Imperialism. Already in 1867 Canada, after the American Civil War, had united with the other colonies, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, to form the Dominion of Canada, as a federal government. Now in 1875 Disraeli startled the world by buying the shares in the Suez Canal belonging to the bankrupt Khedive of Egypt. He saw the importance to our rule in India of the control of that great waterway. In 1877 he annexed the Transvaal Republic in order to protect the Boers from the Zulus, a possession destined to give us trouble afterwards. In the same year he proclaimed the Queen as Empress of India and thus gave our possessions there a unity and a dignity which caught the imagination of Indian and Englishman alike. Disraeli, with his love of the East, had begun to work out a theory of Empire which was to inspire later statesmen.

Another great factor of change was at work in these years. Modern thought had been revolutionised by natural science and it was in 1859 that Darwin's *Origin of Species* was published. The theory of evolution was then given to the world and has dominated man's outlook upon life ever since. It has given a new meaning to the idea of progress and has affected the older views about religion and the development of Christianity. At first thinkers hardly realised that the old education which was based on the knowledge of the classics was faced by a subject which was to thrust the older study from its position of supremacy in the training of the intellect. But the scientific attitude towards facts was

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very soon to bring all authority and all old-established institutions into question and to demand new forms of proof for what had hitherto been unquestioned.

The Church of England had to face the new forces which were so greatly changing the national life during these years. The Church of Rome's answer to the changing world was the declaration of Papal Infallibility in 1870. This practically pledged that Church to resistance to any change from her mediæval outlook on life and thought. For if the Popes were really infallible, then no Pope could abrogate the bulls and decisions of his infallible predecessors. Pius IX had delivered his Church into the dead hand of the past. In the half century since then the Roman Catholic Church has struggled in vain against nationality in France, it has been afraid of democracy in Italy, it has failed to restrain a selfish imperialism in Morocco and the Congo State, it has treated scientific thought as an enemy and it has made ever more difficult the reunion of Christendom.

The Church of England has tried to face the new problems as a national Church. It made mistakes and was sometimes hindered by the fears or ignorance of its leaders and of the rank and file. But as a national Church, with its Bishops discussing their difficulties and convocation voicing its clerical opinion, and Parliament speaking for the mass of the nation, it could adjust itself to meet the new needs and the new conditions. It could live in the present and face the future with courage. It did not say "No" to all change by an appeal to the Middle Ages.

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The greatest ecclesiastical statesman at this time was Archibald Campbell Tait, one of the Oxford tutors who had protested against Tract 90 in 1841, Bishop of London 1856-68 and Archbishop of Canterbury 1868-83. He was a great ecclesiastical statesman, more in sympathy with the Evangelicals than with the High Churchmen, and he wished to guide the Church through these difficult years towards greater influence with the English laity who formed the nation which the Church was called to serve. He was trusted and respected by most people, though he had some severe critics. While he was in London and Canterbury the controversy about ritual went on. High Churchmen like W. J. E. Bennett of Frome and A. H. Mackonochie of St. Alban's, Holborn, practised illegal ritual, yet lived truly exemplary and self-sacrificing lives, so that it was difficult to oppose them. In 1860 the English Church Union was founded in order to "unite clergy and laity in opposing the evils of laxity and the desire for change evidenced by attempts to alter the standard of ritual laid down in the ornaments rubric." Its members were liable to punishment in the courts where they transgressed the law. After minor prosecutions came the Purchas Case in 1871, when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided against the use of vestments (i.e. the chasuble, the alb or the tunicle) at the Celebrations of Holy Communion because they had practically not been in use since the days of Parker's Advertisements in 1566, in spite of the fact that the Ornaments Rubric was maintained in the Prayer Book. The Northward position at the Communion Service

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was also enjoined.¹ In 1874 Archbishop Tait persuaded Parliament to pass the Public Worship Regulation Act. This was intended to simplify the machinery for checking ritualistic excesses. A single new Ecclesiastical judge was appointed who was to hear at once all appeals from the judgment of a Bishop against a disobedient clergyman. The punishment for contumacy might be suspension or deprivation, but imprisonment for ritual was to be avoided. Yet the Act failed to restore discipline.² Convocation had not been consulted and was largely hostile, while the ritualists grew stronger and the Bishops hesitated to bring them into the courts. The appeal from the Bishops to an uncertain Catholic tradition made it very difficult to secure obedience from some ritualists and disorder slowly increased.

Faced with the rising tide of democracy the Church took more interest in social problems. The temperance question becomes prominent and various societies to check the evils of drink arose in the Church. The Church of England Temperance Society was formed in 1873 and has gathered together total abstainers and moderate drinkers in one crusade against intemperance.³ Similarly the education question now came forward for solution. The Church had done its best since the National Society was founded in 1811 to meet the growing need of the children of the working classes. Grants were given by the Government from 1833 onwards, but very early two facts became clear. One was that voluntary effort could never really supply a national

¹ Warre-Cornish, ii, 141, 142.

² Warre-Cornish, ii, 193, 200.

³ Warre-Cornish, ii, 104, 105.

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requirement. The other was that the Nonconformists would never allow the Church to control a system of national education if it should ever be provided. After many previous efforts and discussions, Gladstone's Liberal Government brought in an Education Bill in 1870. It accepted the Church Schools as it found them and supplied the deficiencies by erecting Board Schools where there were no others already. In these new schools the Cowper-Temple clause secured that the Bible might be read and explained but no creed or denominational teaching given.¹ Henceforth the great mass of the children of the nation were to be taught, but the number of Church Schools in proportion to the Board Schools has been steadily dwindling. However, it was a great factor for good that Christian teaching retained so strong a hold on national education.

The ideal of expansion, which for the nation meant Imperialism, had its counterpart for the Church in the spread of Christianity overseas into the colonies and the mission field. During these twenty years the Episcopate was steadily growing in our own dominions, thanks largely to the Colonial Bishoprics Fund started in 1841. In South Africa the diocese of Bloemfontein was founded in 1863, Zululand in 1870, Kaffraria in 1873 and Pretoria in 1878. In Canada, British Columbia became a diocese in 1859 and Algoma in 1873, while the three Western bishoprics of Moosonee, Mackenzie River and Saskatchewan were founded between 1872 and 1874. In Australia came a series of new sees,

¹ Warre-Cornish, ii, 282.

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Brisbane in 1859, Goulburn, Grafton and Armidale, and Bathurst in the 'sixties, Ballarat and North Queensland in the 'seventies. In New Zealand the first diocese was made in 1841 and by 1866 there were seven. The missionary growth of the Church was less rapid, but it reached to very distant places. In China were formed two new dioceses, Mid-China in 1872 and North China in 1880. In Africa, Zanzibar was made into a diocese in 1861, Western Equatorial Africa in 1864 and in 1874 Madagascar. In 1869 a Bishop was sent to the Falkland Islands for South America.¹ There could be few better evidences of the life of the Church than this development inside the Empire and in the heathen countries beyond. As against this had to be set the apparent weakening of the Church by its disestablishment and disendowment in Ireland by Gladstone's Bill in 1869. But this in the end only removed the fetters which had checked its growth and made it stronger and more efficient than before.

In face of the new truth which was being brought to bear upon religion by natural science and historical criticism the Church of England was for a time perplexed. The standard of truth for Englishmen was the Bible and the new doctrine of evolution seemed to upset the teaching of Genesis about the creation of the world, while the work of German scholars seemed to bring into question the whole meaning of the inspiration of the Scriptures and the divinity of our Lord. Two controversies sprang up on the heels of the appearance of Darwin's book which brought the Church face to face with the

¹ Warre-Cornish. ii, xvii, xviii.

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question, “What is Truth and what is error?” In 1860 was published *Essays and Reviews*, a volume of seven Essays dealing with the new forms of thought, and questioning much that had hitherto been accepted as fundamental.¹ The book was condemned by Convocation in 1861, but the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council refused to allow any of the writers to be punished. When the controversy died down thinking men had begun to realise that the inspiration of the Bible did not mean that it was a text-book of science as well as a guide to spiritual truth.

The second controversy was produced by the publication of *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, in 1862-3, by J. W. Colenso, Bishop of Natal. This book brought the literary and historical criticism of the Bible for the first time before the Church at large. Feeling ran very high and Colenso was excommunicated by Bishop Gray of Capetown and condemned by the majority of the bishops at home, but again the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council disallowed the excommunication, though on a technical point.² In South Africa the whole Church was split in two and at home bitterness of feeling was intense. But as the controversy died away men realised that they had gained from the conflict more than they had lost. The Church of England had come to learn that the new truth was not really hostile to the old, but complementary to it. The leaders fought in all sincerity for their view of the Bible and for the truth of Christianity. Gradually men came to see that the figure of

¹ Warre-Cornish, ii, xi.

² Warre-Cornish, ii, xii.

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the Son of Man was only the grander and more truly divine because of all the fierce light of criticism which beat upon Him in these twenty years.

It was during these years that Charles Kingsley's best work was done. He was born in 1819 at Holne Vicarage in Devonshire. In 1830 his father became Rector of Clovelly in Devonshire, where the love of the sea and the study of nature had an immense influence on his later life. He went to a small school at Clifton, where the Bristol riots and the burning of the Bishop's palace at the time of the Reform Bill in 1831 made a lasting impression on his mind. The rest of his school days were spent at Helston in Cornwall, and here he developed that love of natural science which was so important afterwards. In 1836 his father became Rector of Chelsea and Charles reluctantly changed his seaside home for London and in 1838 went up as an undergraduate to Magdalene College, Cambridge. Here he read classics, though he spent a great deal of his time on botany and geology. He was interested in the *Tracts for the Times*, which were coming out at this time at Oxford, but he very quickly rejected their teaching. After Tract 90 appeared he wrote to his mother : "Whether wilful or self-deceived, these men are Jesuits, taking the oath to the Articles with moral reservations which allows them to explain them away in senses utterly different from those of their authors."¹ He worked very hard during the last part of his time at Cambridge and came out in 1842 with a First Class in Classics and a Second

¹ Charles Kingsley : *His Letters and Memories of his Life* : ed. by his Wife, in 2 vols., 15th edition abridged, i, 41.

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Class in Mathematics. He was not recognised as a leader at College in the same way as he afterwards became and the secret is given by his tutor, who wrote of him, "If he had worked as an undergraduate with only a small portion of the industry and energy which he exhibited after he left Cambridge there was no academic distinction which would not have been within his reach."¹

While at Cambridge he made up his mind, after a period of doubt, to take Holy Orders, and in 1842 he was ordained at Winchester to the curacy of Eversley in Hampshire. It was a parish divided into three hamlets on the borders of Old Windsor Forest and he loved the villagers and the country life. Before his coming the services had been utterly neglected. He worked hard and read widely and his love of nature grew steadily. "When I walk the fields," he writes, "I am oppressed every now and then with an innate feeling that everything I see has a meaning if I could but understand it. And this feeling of being surrounded with truths which I cannot grasp, amounts to indescribable awe sometimes."² This gives us the clue to his reverent attitude towards nature as the expression of the love of God. It was at this time that he read F. D. Maurice's *Kingdom of Christ*, a book to which he always said he owed more than to any he had ever read.³ He describes himself thus to a friend: "I am much more happy, much more comfortable, reading, thinking and doing my duty—much more than ever I did before in my life."⁴

In January, 1844, he married Fanny, daughter of

¹ *Life*, i, 41.

² *Life*, i, 55.

³ *Life*, i, 60.

⁴ *Life*, i, 69.

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Pascoe Grenfell. They were offered the living of Pimperne in Dorsetshire, but as the living of Eversley at this time fell vacant, the curate became the Rector instead of going away, and the newly married pair took up their residence in the Rectory which was to be his home for thirty years until his death. New clubs were started one after another, a shoe club, a coal club, a maternity society, a loan fund and a lending library.¹ The church had been nearly empty when he came as curate, and he felt that the only way to conquer years of neglect was by incessant labour. He soon got the parish thoroughly in hand. It was by daily house-to-house visiting in the week, even more than by his church services, that he acquired his influence.² He laid stress on his Confirmation Classes and on the six Sundays previous to the Confirmation, the catechism, creeds and office of confirmation were explained publicly, and during those six weeks each candidate was taught separately as well as in class.³ He sums up his life in a letter in 1846 : " My whole heart is set, not on retrogression, outward or inward, but on progression—not on going back in the least matter to any ideal age or system, but on fairly taking the present as it is, not as I should like it to be and believing that Jesus Christ is still working in all honest and well-meaning men. . . . The new element is democracy in Church and State. Waiving the question of its evil or its good, we cannot stop it. Let us Christianise it instead."⁴

We are so apt to think only of Charles Kingsley as a writer, a poet or a social reformer that it is good

¹ *Life*, i, 92.

² *Life*, i, 92, 93.

³ *Life*, i, 93.

⁴ *Life*, i, 106.

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to remember that he was more than anything else a country clergyman who loved his parish and found in it the chief work of his life. He was intensely English and loved the Church of England because it was the Church of the English people in whose development and progress he saw the best hope for the future of the world.

In 1848 he began his career as an author with the publication of *The Saint's Tragedy*. It is the story of St. Elizabeth of Hungary and in it the author shows the sacredness of married love as against the ideal of celibacy, for which Roman Catholicism and, as he believed, Tractarianism stood. Kingsley found his own daily inspiration in his love for his wife and this poem is his great defence of a married clergy. He writes at this time : "The highest state I define as that state through and in which men can know most of God and work most for God : and this I assert to be the marriage state."¹

The same year saw the threatenings of revolution on the Continent and the Chartist riots at home. F. D. Maurice, Tom Hughes and Kingsley started their movement for Christian Socialism to show their sympathy for the Chartists and their desire to win them for Christ and His Church. The placard which was posted up in many parts of London in April just after the failure of the Charter sums up his social ideals : "Englishmen ! Saxons ! Workers of the great, cool-headed, strong-handed nation of England, the workshop of the World, the leader of freedom for 700 years, men say you have common sense ! then do not humbug yourselves into meaning

¹ *Life*, i, 154.

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'license' when you cry for 'liberty.' Who would dare refuse your freedom? For the Almighty God, and Jesus Christ, the poor Man, who died for poor men, will bring it about for you though all the Mammonites of the earth were against you. A nobler day is dawning for England, a day of freedom, science, industry! But there will be no true freedom without virtue, no true science without religion, no true industry without the fear of God, and love to your fellow-citizens."¹ A short-lived magazine was started called *Politics for the People*, and Kingsley contributed to it as Parson Lot. He once wrote: "I don't deny, my friends, it is much cheaper and pleasanter to be reformed by the devil than by God: for God will only reform society on condition of our reforming every man his own self---while the devil is quite ready to help us to mend the laws and the parliament, earth and heaven, without ever starting such an impudent and personal request as that a man should mend himself. That liberty of the subject he will always respect."² This little group of friends started co-operative industry among tailors in London without any lasting success. More permanent was the Working Men's College which they started in London near King's Cross and which has gone on ever since.

Yeast was now coming out monthly in *Fraser's Magazine*. No book ever took so much out of him. After busy days in the parish he would sit down and write it, deep into the night.³ In it he tried to make the rising generation realise the social problems of the day, especially for those who lived

¹ *Life*, i, 119.

² *Life*, i, 125.

³ *Life*, i, 155.

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in the country. He wanted the younger people to see that their doubts and questions only led them back to God. He sums up its lessons in the Epilogue : “ I know that if my heroes go on as they have set forth, looking with single mind for some one ground of human light and love, some everlasting rock whereon to build, utterly careless what the building may be, howsoever contrary to precedent and prejudice and the idols of the day, provided God and nature and the accumulated lessons of all the ages help them in its construction—then they will find in time the thing they seek and see how the will of God may at last be done on earth even as it is done in heaven.” After the book was finished he broke down, but in 1849 he returned strong and well to fresh labours in his parish, and started in a cottage at some distance from the church a Sunday evening service, which was crowded.¹ Cholera was now in England and sanitary matters absorbed him more and more. “ He was now,” writes one who saw him, “ in the vigour of his manhood and of his intellectual powers, was administering his parish with enthusiasm, was writing, reading, fishing, walking, preaching, talking with a twenty-parson power but was at the same time wholly unlike the ordinary and conventional parson.”²

In 1850 he published *Alton Locke*. “ He got up at five every morning and wrote till breakfast. After breakfast he worked with a pupil and at his sermons. The afternoons were devoted as usual to cottage visiting, the evenings to the adult school and literary work.”³ In this book he teaches the work-

¹ *Life*, i, 176.

² *Life*, i, 185.

³ *Life*, i, 189.

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men in the towns that their ideals of social betterment must be based on Christ. The chapter headed “The True Demagogue” shows how “the kingdom of God has been growing, spreading since that first Whitsuntide, civilising, humanising, uniting this distracted earth. . . . In every age it has been a gospel to the poor. In every age it has, sooner or later, claimed the steps of civilisation, the discoveries of science, as God’s inspirations, not man’s inventions. In every age it has taught men to do that by God which they had failed to do without Him. It is now ready, if we may judge by the signs of the times, once again to penetrate, to convert, to re-organise, the political and social life of England, perhaps of the world : to vindicate democracy as the will and gift of God. Take it for the ground of your rights.”¹

His correspondence was heavy and increasing, and almost involuntarily he found himself giving spiritual advice to a growing number of people. He repeatedly strove to check any tendency among Tractarians to join the Church of Rome. “I say that the Church of England is wonderfully and mysteriously fitted for the souls of a free Norse-Saxon race, and that the element which you have partially introduced and to drown yourself in which you must go to Rome, is a foreign element, unsuited to Englishmen and to God’s purposes with England.”²

He was much interested in the Great Exhibition of 1851 as the visible sign of a new era of peace, and fought keenly on the side of social righteousness.

¹ *Alton Locke*, xxxvii.

² *Life*, i, 203.

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He was anxious to check intemperance and saw no hope for the future unless the number of public houses could be legally restricted to the lowest possible number in proportion to the area of the parish and the size of population.¹ It was now that he preached a sermon in a London church against which the Vicar protested because he regarded it as socialistic. "There are two freedoms," the preacher said, "the false where a man is free to do what he likes : the true where a man is free to do what he ought." He showed that it is the latter which the Church teaches.² Yet even that in those days was regarded as dangerous. Sunday observance in its bearing on our social life interested him at this time specially in connection with the opening of the Crystal Palace on Sunday. "Let us see," he writes, "in the name of Him who said He had made the Sabbath for man and not man for the Sabbath—if we cannot do something to prevent the townsman's Sabbath being, not a day of rest but a day of mere idleness ; the day of most temptation because of most dulness in the whole seven."³

All through his life he suffered from one great disadvantage, of which a friend speaks at this time. "In conversation," he says, "Kingsley had a painful hesitation in his speech, but in preaching and in speaking with a set purpose he was wholly free from it. He used to say that he could speak for God but not for himself, and took the trial patiently and even thankfully."⁴ His words about suffering in a letter in 1852 are important as coming from a man who knew what infirmity is. "So far from allowing

¹ *Life*, i, 223.

² *Life*, i, 230.

³ *Life*, i, 279.

⁴ *Life*, i, 245.

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that what I say of God's absolute love of our happiness and hatred of our misery is the half-truth which must be limited by anything else, I say it is the whole truth, the root truth, which must limit all theories about the benefit of suffering and must be preached absolutely, nakedly, unreservedly.”¹

He always took immense pains over his sermons at Eversley and elsewhere. On Sunday evening he would often talk over with his wife the subject and text for the next week. On Monday he would, if possible, take a rest, but on Tuesday it was sketched and the first half carefully thought out before it was dictated or written ; then put by for a day or two that it might simmer in his brain and be finished on Friday.²

In 1853 appeared *Hypatia*, in which, with much historical research and a trained imagination, he shows how in the fifth century the same struggle between right and wrong was going on as goes on to-day. The last paragraph sums up its message. “I have shown you new foes under an old face—your own likenesses in toga and tunic instead of coat and bonnet. One word before we part. The same devil who tempted these old Egyptians tempts you. The same God who would have saved these old Egyptians if they had willed will save you if you will. Their sins are yours, their errors yours, their doom yours, their deliverance yours. There is nothing new under the sun. The thing which hath been, it is that which shall be.”³

In 1854 his attention was increasingly turned to sanitary reform and he urged the clergy to take

¹ *Life*, i, 268.

² *Life*, i, 289.

³ *Hypatia*, xxx.

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more interest in the sanitation and repair of the houses of the working classes, in order specially to check the ravages of cholera. Suddenly, in the midst of his interest in social problems, his whole energy was turned by the Crimean War to the needs of the army in Russia, and his volume of sermons, *True Words for Brave Men*, was a splendid effort to help the men at the front. While the war was going on in 1855 he published his greatest novel, *Westward Ho!*, which showed his love of England and his belief in God's guiding hand in her history and in her English, as contrasted with Roman Christianity. He reminds a correspondent in 1856 who complains that the Church of England is fallen to a low ebb that "she is no lower (I think her a great deal higher) than any other Christian denomination. She will be higher as long as she keeps her Articles which bind men to none of the popular superstitions but are so cautious, wide and liberal that I could almost believe them to have come down from heaven."¹

In 1857 his sympathies went out towards our fellow countrymen who were going through the perils of the Indian Mutiny, and his friendships with several officers at Aldershot increased his love and admiration of the British Army. Many of these military men were visitors to Eversley Church on Sundays and appreciated his sermons. *Two Years Ago* appeared this year and turned his repeated pleas for sanitary reform into the story of a thrilling struggle with cholera and a victory for science, while through the conversations of the various

¹ *Life*, ii, 9.

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characters the reader is led back to a God who hates disease and works on the side of health.

In 1860 he was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge and for nine years he played an important part in the life and teaching of the University. He started his new work with a deep sense of humility coupled with intense delight. His first lecture was on "The limits of exact science as applied to history," and showed his grasp in handling his two favourite subjects, science and history. The course which followed was afterwards published as *The Roman and the Teuton*. Of these lectures Max Müller said: "History was but his text; his chief aim was that of the teacher and preacher. He was an eloquent interpreter of the purposes of history."¹ In 1861 he was asked by the Queen to give special lectures on history to the Prince of Wales, who came up that year to Cambridge as an undergraduate.

In this year he criticised *Essays and Reviews* for its negative attitude towards the solution of religious problems. "There is little or nothing in that book, says Cambridge, which we have not all of us been through already. But we have faced doubts in silence, hoping to find a positive solution. Here comes a book which states all the old doubts and difficulties and gives us nothing instead."²

He was interested in the American Civil War and in 1862 gave a course of lectures on the history of America. He was angry that the sufferers from the cotton famine in Lancashire should appeal for subscriptions from other parts of England, whose

¹ *Life*, ii, 120.

² *Life*, ii, 122.

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poverty he thought was equally great. His scientific knowledge was in 1863 recognised by membership of the Geological Society. From boyhood geology had been a favourite study of his and since he took Holy Orders it had assumed a deeper importance from the light he believed it must throw on Bible history.¹ He often visited the newly founded Wellington College at this time under its first head-master, Dr. Benson, and lectured to the boys about botany and geology. He was more and more occupied in correspondence with scientific men, not least Charles Darwin. "The scientists," he writes to F. D. Maurice, "find that now they have got rid of an interfering God—a master magician, as I call it—they have to choose between the absolute empire of accident and a living, immanent, ever-working God."²

The Colenso controversy moved him to write to Maurice in 1863 : "Scripture asserts that those who wrote it were moved by the spirit of God, that it is a record of God's dealings with men which certain men were inspired to perceive and write down ; whereas the tendency of modern criticism is to assert that Scripture is inspired by the spirit of man : that it contains the thoughts and discoveries of men concerning God which they wrote down without the inspiration of God, which difference seems to me infinite and incalculable."³

In 1864 came the controversy with Newman on the question whether the Roman Catholic priesthood are encouraged or discouraged to pursue truth for its own sake. Newman's reply to Kingsley was his

¹ *Life*, ii, 141.

² *Life*, ii, 155.

³ *Life*, ii, 161.

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famous *Apology*, but Kingsley, though beaten in argument, was struggling for the great principle of the desire of the Church of England for truth in face of modern scientific doubts and problems, as contrasted with the necessary Roman obedience to the intellectual position of the Middle Ages.¹ After the controversy Kingsley went abroad for a time and returned to Cambridge in 1865 to give a course of University sermons on David. This was the year when subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles was made less stringent for Ordination. Kingsley was in favour of freedom of thought, but doubted whether the relaxation of subscription would give it. He writes : "As long as the Articles stand and as long as they are interpreted by *lawyers only* who will ask sternly 'Is it in the bond ?' and nothing else, I see hope for freedom and liberty. If subscription were done away, every man would either teach what was right in his own eyes or would have to be controlled by a body, not of written words, but of thinking men. From whom may my Lord deliver me."²

In 1866, mindful of the needs of his parish and to check the monotony of the lives of his people, he started a series of Penny Readings and gave simple lectures on a variety of subjects. He was in great request now as a preacher in Longdon, and elsewhere, and his correspondence was very large and showed the great influence which he had on cultured thought everywhere.

In 1869 he resigned his professorship at Cambridge, but in the same year was made by Gladstone a Canon of Chester, a post the occupation of which

¹ *Life*, ii, 165.

² *Life*, ii, 182.

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gave him very great pleasure. He spent some weeks, before entering on his duties, in a voyage to the West Indies, which was to him a scientific treat. He then came to Chester for his period of residence and for four years enjoyed the Cathedral life alternately with the parochial life at Eversley. He loved the beauty of the services. He was conscious of the appeal of the large congregation in the nave on Sunday evenings and as a preacher he was a great force in the city. He started a Natural History Society and took large parties out on botanical and geological expeditions in the summer. The Chester residence was one of the dearest episodes in his life, of which he always spoke warmly afterwards.

In 1870, when the Franco-Prussian War broke out, he showed his attitude towards war when he wrote : “ To turn the other cheek in meekness may be very ‘ Christian ’ towards a man’s self : but most unchristian, base and selfish, towards his women, his children and his descendants yet unborn.”¹

His correspondence in 1871 touches on theology, science and history. He shows the danger of the popular belief in eternal punishment. He had been told : “ We will have nothing to do with God as long as He is one who sends the many to Tartarus, the few to Olympus. The Olympus is beautiful, possible but unprovable. The Tartarus is horrible to our moral sense and shall be exterminated from the human mind.”² At another time he warns the young men of Chester against betting. “ Betting,” he says, “ is wrong, because it is wrong to take your neighbour’s money without giving him anything in return. All labour—even the lowest drudgery is

¹ *Life*, ii, 252.

² *Life*, ii, 260.

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honourable—but betting is not labouring nor earning. It is getting money without earning it, and more, it is getting money, or trying to get it, out of your neighbour's ignorance.”¹ Work in 1872 seemed to redouble. He dreamed in vain of the “learned leisure” rather than of “increased activity” for which he held that a Canonry should provide, and already he began to show signs of overwork and need of rest.

In 1873 he accepted a Canonry at Westminster and left Chester with great regret. He was quickly popular in London as a preacher and a leader, and his sermons drew crowds to the Abbey. In 1874 he went to America, where he gave several lectures and met many leading people. At San Francisco he caught a chill which turned to pleurisy and he had not really recovered by the time he started home in July. He preached to enormous congregations at the Abbey in November and in one of his last letters that month he wrote to a young man: “Don’t lose hold of that belief in the old faith, which is more precious to my *reason* as well as to my moral sense the older I grow.”² He caught a fresh chill at the end of November and went home to Eversley, where he died on January 23rd, 1875, at the age of fifty-five.

He had done much in his comparatively short life, and was representative of the Church of England as it faced the new truth of the nineteenth century. He taught men that science and literature and criticism and history only made the Lord he loved more worthy of their faith and love too. He was essentially an Englishman and believed in God’s

¹ *Life*, ii, 270.

² *Life*, ii, 333.

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call to Englishmen. His love of God was reflected in his love of wife and home. There was fitly carved on his tomb at Eversley the epitaph, "Amavimus, amamus, amabimus."

The great lesson to be learnt from Kingsley is the splendour of God's call to the Church of England in the nineteenth century. The change between the work and energy of the Church in 1859 when he became a Chaplain to the Queen and the range of its activity to-day, seventy years later, is enormous. England was then developing her democracy and becoming an Empire with new world-wide responsibilities and leadership. The Church of Englishmen has ever since been learning how to meet these wider claims upon her service and Kingsley was one of the men who saw most clearly the greatness of her calling. The richness of her development since he died is one great sign of God's manifest blessing, but in our parishes we sometimes forget the grandeur of the whole in our interest in a small part.

The attitude of the Church towards social reform in Kingsley's days was on the whole unsympathetic. He was always, since the days of 1848, an ardent social reformer, especially in the matter of housing, sanitation and good wages. But the Church as a whole did not back him up. Nor is this altogether surprising, for it was still in a position of privilege as the Established Church and had hardly realised the needs and claims of the new working classes created by the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century. The middle classes had been enfranchised in 1832 and they had largely been absorbed into the Church since then. For thirty years the spiritual needs of the working class had been met, not so

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much by the Church as by Nonconformity. To the churchman the word Chartist suggested atheism and revolution, and his attitude towards the working man was one of hostility rather than sympathy. Lord Palmerston was typical of the respectable middle classes in resisting all political change till his death in 1865, and the Church was satisfied with this policy. Lord Shaftesbury struggled for the improvement of labour in the mines and factories, but the Church at large was not an enthusiastic supporter of his work. Archbishop Tait was warmly in favour of religious work in the poor parts of London, but he was not prominent in the improvement of housing and industrial conditions. The working class found a voice with the Reform Bill of 1867 and the hope of education with Gladstone's Bill of 1870. The Church might have done much for labour under such a devout son as Prime Minister, 1869 to 1874. But she lost her chance and Nonconformity backed up the reforms of his Liberal Government and helped to satisfy the needs of the workman in those important years. Later on, as we shall see, the Church did more. But in Kingsley's days it had hardly realised this duty. Yet even then it was developing its organisation in three ways which were afterwards to help enormously its power to serve the masses.

First there was the extension of the Episcopate. There were only twenty-four English dioceses in Kingsley's life. To-day there are forty-two. This one fact stands for an immense improvement in the organisation and efficiency of the Church, especially when it is remembered that the creation of suffragan bishops was only revived in 1870 and that now there

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are twenty-eight. These new sees have called into being an immense amount of liberality and by diminishing the size of the old unwieldy diocese have made it possible for Bishops to know and help their clergy. Leadership in the Church is far more effective now with Bishops who can understand their dioceses than it was seventy years ago when they lived apart in isolation. The Church can much more powerfully serve the working men when it has leaders who can carefully organise their dioceses.

Next comes the work of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. This body was appointed, as we saw, in 1836. Ever since it has used its large revenues to help the efficiency of the Church in every way. It has increased the value of poor livings and it has encouraged liberality in the foundation of new parishes.¹ This has meant an enormous extension of social work in growing centres of population and has made possible a Christian influence which otherwise would have ceased to exist in some of those areas where it is most needed.

Thirdly, there are the Houses of Convocation and their later development in the National Assembly. In 1855 Convocation in its Upper and Lower Houses of Canterbury and York was revived and in its debates the Church, after nearly 140 years' silence, found its voice. It was no longer controlled by a few leading Bishops, but the whole body of Bishops in the Upper Houses and representative clergy in the Lower Houses could discuss all matters which affected its life. This meant much for the well-being of the Church, but more was needed, for Parliament still controlled the Church and nothing

¹ Warre-Cornish, ii.

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could be done without its leave. The Church was bound in fetters, and many urgent reforms to enable it to do its work were not possible as long as Acts of Parliament had to be passed to bring these reforms about. How could the Church remain the Established Church under the control of Parliament and yet able within these limits to be free to legislate for itself and reform itself? The answer was the creation of the National Assembly of the Church of England in 1920 after the Enabling Bill, to create it, had passed Parliament by unexpectedly large majorities in 1919. This body consists of the Bishops and clergy who already form the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation, together with a house of laymen to represent the different dioceses. It is the representative body of the Church and to it Parliament gives the power to legislate, only reserving to itself the right to veto measures which seem to conflict with the rights and liberties of Englishmen. Since 1920 the Assembly has organised the finance of the Church so as to provide itself with an annual income. It has created Church Councils for every parish in the kingdom in order to give the vicar the support of his people. It has dealt effectively with the union of small parishes, with the heavy burden of dilapidations, with the provision of pensions for aged clergy and with the problem of the presentation of clergymen to livings. In something like seven years it has removed age-long hindrances to the activity of the Church, and made it effective in ways which even ten years ago would have been deemed impossible.¹

Kingsley loved England and he loved the

¹ *The First Five Years of the Church Assembly.* Part III.

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English Church. He believed that God had great things in store for both and he was sad sometimes because the Church seemed to care too little for the lives of the poor. It would be an inspiration to him, could he live now, to see how the Church, whose three great forms of organisation were beginning to take effect seventy years ago, has been prepared almost unconsciously for far greater activity and usefulness in the present day.

Nor is it only in organisation that the Church has developed. She has also been trying to make common worship more expressive of men's aspirations. In Kingsley's days the struggles about ritual had culminated in the Public Worship Regulation Act. But this, with its appeal to a single lay judge, was felt to be unsatisfactory. In 1890 a test case on ritual was brought before a spiritual court for judgment. The Church Association prosecuted Edward King, Bishop of Lincoln, for what it held to be illegal acts. The case was heard by Archbishop Benson, who gave his judgment in 1891. He decided that the Eastward position, the mixed chalice and the use of lighted candles on the Holy Table were all legal acts at the Celebration of the Holy Communion, and this was supported by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.¹ This judgment was regarded by most Churchmen as settling the controversy about ritual, though some have gone beyond its terms in the twentieth century.

With the twentieth century has come the still greater question of the reform of the Prayer Book itself, without which it was felt that the Bishops could not maintain proper discipline. Letters of

¹ Warre-Cornish, ii, 362-372.

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business were therefore issued to Convocation in 1906 and a Committee of Convocation drew up a revised Prayer Book which was submitted to Convocation and to the Church Assembly and was passed by large majorities in both these bodies and in various Diocesan Conferences in 1927. This new book made certain additions to the old one, enriched its services and was far more suitable for worship in the twentieth century than its sixteenth century predecessor. The one difficulty was the Holy Communion Service, about which all the controversy had arisen. For this a new Canon was drawn up as an alternative to the old, the mediæval vestments of 1549 were allowed and the reservation of the Sacrament for the sick, though for no other purpose, was permitted. This book was passed by the House of Lords but rejected by the House of Commons at the end of 1927, and again on June 14th, 1928. For the present the Book of 1662 is alone legal, but after all the controversy about the amended or alternative book of 1927 and 1928, two things stand out clear. One is that the Church of England has shown her vitality and her power by striving, under the guidance of God's Holy Spirit, to improve even her Prayer Book to meet the needs of a new age. The other is that the English people still look to the Reformation as the guarantee of its national religion and distrusts any movement or act of worship which seems to seek its inspiration in the Middle Ages. Kingsley, Robertson and Hook are found to be true prophets.

Another distinguishing feature of the Church of England has always been its quest for truth. In Kingsley's days it was trying to find out how to

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adjust the old truth for which it stood to the new truth which science and history were teaching the world. Kingsley as a scientist and a historian was not afraid of what was new. But he studied it with reverence, expecting to find the God of revelation one with the God of nature and the spirit of progress in man. So it has been with the Church to which he belonged. After a short period of doubt and fear, Anglican scholars have reverently set themselves to find truth without clinging to what is old because it is backed by authority or accepting what is new because it avoids some difficulties. The result has been that in the Church of England to-day we possess a theology which brings us back to Jesus Christ with a new inspiration. At no period since the time of the first Apostles have we been able to come so close to Him and to the circumstances in which He lived. Never have men had so great an opportunity of understanding the grandeur of the Incarnation of the Son of God in the setting of geology, psychology and history.

Sometimes in our parishes our manifold duties make us forget to read. Yet nearly all who have done great work as clergymen have been readers. All of those whose lives we are studying have spent long hours at their books. It is good to remember some of the familiar names of those who have given us our modern Anglican theology and to make their works the subject of our reading. There is Henry Parry Liddon (1829-90), whose Bampton lectures in 1866 on *The Divinity of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* showed how the old belief in Jesus Christ as the Son of God was not really weakened by modern and especially German criti-

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cism. In 1870 a Committee of Convocation was appointed to undertake the revision of the English Bible and when in 1881 the New Testament and in 1885 the Old Testament appeared in a new translation it seemed to many as if the truth of the Bible itself had been questioned when the familiar words of the Authorised Version of 1611 were changed. But familiarity with the new translation has only brought our generation nearer to Jesus Christ. In 1889 appeared *Lux Mundi* by a group of Oxford scholars, of which Charles Gore was editor. It was the first great effort to explain Christianity constructively in the light of new truth. It tried to show how "the Church standing firm in her old truths is able to assimilate all new material, to welcome and give its place to all new knowledge, to throw herself into the sanctification of each new social order."¹ These essays are still very valuable in helping us to understand the problems of to-day. The three Cambridge scholars, Westcott, Lightfoot and Hort, have made contributions to religious literature which can never be overlooked. Westcott and Hort's *Greek Testament* (1881) is a monument of Anglican scholarship. Lightfoot's commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles to the Galatians, the Philippians and the Colossians and the Apostolic Fathers will always help us to make the great Apostle and his early successors live for the men of to-day. Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, his *Gospel of the Resurrection*, his *Historic Faith*, his *Gospel of St. John* and his *Epistle to the Hebrews* show the variety and depth of his learning. He was Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge from 1870 to 1890 and Bishop of

¹ *Lux Mundi*. Preface.

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Durham from 1890 till his death in 1901. At Oxford, Professor Driver's work on the Old Testament, Professor Sanday's work on the New Testament and at Cambridge Professor Swete's work on the Holy Spirit, are all profound. Volumes of essays like *Contentio Veritatis* and *Cambridge Theological Essays* have dealt with particular problems raised by modern criticism. In more recent years Bishop Gore, who published his Bampton lectures on *The Incarnation of the Son of God* in 1891, has given to the world the fruits of a life of study in his three books—*Belief in God* (1921), *Belief in Christ* (1922) and *Belief in the Holy Spirit and the Church* (1924). In 1926 Canon B. H. Streeter's *Reality* has put a new correlation of science and religion before us. The Student Christian Movement has by its publications put some of the ablest Christian minds in touch with the questions of the student class.

No Church is dead if it is really thinking. We in our parishes cannot fail to help men and women if we pass on to them the thoughts of these great men. It is with reverent thinkers like these that the Church of England has been prepared by God for seventy years to give His message to the changing world of to-day and it is for us to pass their message on to those who need it. These writers have shown, like Kingsley, that there is no real conflict between religion and science.

The meaning of this development in the organisation of the Church, in its capacity for worship and in its assimilation of new truth, is best realised if we look overseas, where we are confronted by the great fact which has been emphasised recently by the publication of the six reports of the Missionary

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Council from 1926 to 1928. That fact is the dispersion of the British race throughout the world which, like the similar dispersion of the Jewish race two thousand years ago, seems to testify to some great purpose of God. In this dispersion the most important part is the British Empire. In Kingsley's time its nature was hardly imagined except by Disraeli, its future was all unknown. Then Gladstone, the great Christian leader, stood for a little England and expected that in time the colonies would become independent of the mother-country. But since then the Empire has learned how to base its union on freedom. Each of the great Dominions has become self-governing and united. Canada achieved this in 1867, the Australian Commonwealth was established in 1901, New Zealand was given the rank of a Dominion in 1907 and the creation of the Union of South Africa ended the bitterness of war in 1910. The world has seen with astonishment the rise of this great Commonwealth of free nations. It was the dangers of war that made clear the strength of the bonds uniting the mother-country and her daughter nations, and forged new links between them. In the South African War 1899-1902 and in the Great War 1914-18 the Empire realised that it was one, and soldiers from each part of the dominions poured in to fight for the common cause. As a result the Empire is stronger than ever, while at the same time it is freer and less controlled from England. Beyond the Dominions is the great British dispersion among the alien races which we strive to govern in their own interest in India and in Africa. And outside the Empire are scattered British groups and individuals in other countries

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under other flags in South America, in Asia, in Africa and in the islands of the Sea.

Everywhere the British, with all their faults, bring freedom and good government. As rulers they stand for justice, as traders for honesty, as teachers for truth, as settlers for kindness. We may look on this great fact as a mere chance and ascribe it to the might or the capacity for leadership or the wealth of the British. But in spite of many failures and shortcomings it is surely true to say that British civilisation is at its core Christian. Our fellow-countrymen overseas have in numberless instances witnessed to the religion in which they were brought up. Sometimes this witness has been active, more often it has been inarticulate. But it is there and the Fifth Report of 1927 has made us realise for the first time that the British race throughout the world may become the greatest witness for Christ in history if it remains true to the faith which has come down to us from our fathers. It is for us at home to realise this great inspiration and to pass it on to others.

Nor is this all. For partly inside and even more outside the Empire lies the great non-Christian world, brought into touch with Europe and Great Britain far more closely than in the days when Kingsley lived. The advance of the white races, the improvement of communications, the development of world markets, the spread of education has made the whole world one as never before. This process which was going on rapidly at the end of the nineteenth century has been doubly hastened by the Great War. The outstanding fact to-day about this non-Christian world is its spirit of inquiry about

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Jesus Christ. This is what emerges from the four Missionary Reports of 1926. In every part of the world startling changes have arisen which have made the problem of missionary work altogether new. The clash of East and West is breaking up the East. The alternative that lies before it has been described as Christ or Chaos. The Mohammedan world has been changed by the fact that Turkey no longer aspires to be the head of the countries that profess the faith of Islam, but desires to become a Western Republic based on nationality. In Persia, in Palestine, in Egypt, even in Turkey, the old hostility to Christianity is changing to sympathetic inquiry. In Africa there is a race between Mohammedanism and Christianity for the possession of the soul of the native, but in the larger part of the Continent, which is under British rule, the education of the native has been offered by the Government to the missionary if only he will undertake it. It is a unique Christian opportunity. The conversion of India by Indians is at last possible if only the fifty million outcastes who are clamouring for Christianity can find teachers enough to lead them into the Church, while the influence of the Mahatma Gandhi has done more to lead his people to Christ than scores of European missionaries could ever do.¹ In China there is a native Church which has been slowly built up in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and is maintaining its faith amidst all the dangers of civil war and hatred of foreign influence. In Japan Christianity is one of the three recognised religions and the little native Church has an influence for good far beyond its

¹ W. E. S. Holland. *The Indian Outlook*, iii.

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numbers. The whole non-Christian world is turning to Christ with an expectant hope which would have been deemed impossible in the days of Palmerston. Why has so remarkable a change come about in the last sixty years ?

We dimly see the answer to that question when we try to piece together the evidence of God's purpose for England and the Church of England. Kingsley saw this evidence when there was far less of it than now, and that is why he was so truly a Christian leader in his day. It is much clearer for us now if we have eyes to see it. God has been giving the world a new vision of Himself in the last hundred years through the discoveries of science and the teaching of history. He has been teaching the leaders of the Church of England to grasp this new revelation in a very special way, and He has guided them to more efficient organisation and greater richness of worship. At the same time the English people to whom that Church ministers has been spreading over the world and stands as a great witness for the Christianity which that Church teaches. The great non-Christian world waits for Christ and its longing for Him has been strangely deepened in the last years, especially since the War. We have already seen how God had led England and her Church down the centuries to the days of Keble. Now we have seen the sequel in the years which have followed. What does it mean ?

I believe that God has been training the British people to be the great means for doing His will in the years to come. He has not guided us through the centuries and given us victory in the War to throw us over now. Nor has He given us a growing

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revelation of Himself to leave our children in darkness. But if He has called us to His service we must pray to be worthy of His calling. We must find our inspiration as Kingsley found his in our English history and our English people and our English Church, and looking back over the last sixty years, we shall find a new inspiration for our parishes as we teach our people to see God at work in the Church of which they are members to-day.

And this, if true, has one very practical application, which Kingsley, like a prophet, foresaw in his day. Almost inevitably, in speaking of our Empire and our Church in their relations with the non-Christian world, we interchange the words English and British. Quite inevitably, if we are Christians, we hope and pray for Christian reunion. I believe that reunion will come by uniting on what is our common British Christianity, and that in that process the Church of England will be the central body to unite other British Christians. If we are called by God to be a missionary people, we cannot take different Christian messages to the world outside. It is with our British fellow-countrymen overseas that we have far more in common than with other nations with whom we can only find Christian union by going back four centuries in history to join in views about God and nature which modern science and history unite to deny. The more we love our Church the more I believe that we shall see that her great part in the reunion of Christendom is to unite British Christianity in a common witness to the Lord Who has called the British people to so wonderful a work for Him in His world to-day.

VI

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“ This generation—including poor as well as rich—noble as it is, is so taken up with its possessions, its inventions, and its pleasures, that it cannot look up to something higher than its own doings. Its eye is so distracted with many things that it cannot see God and worship. It is clothed magnificently ; it is strong, intelligent, good ; but it passes along the stage of time with bowed figure and hidden face—it goes sorrowfully away. Watts’s picture in the Tate Gallery of ‘ The Rich Young Man ’ is, I often think, an apt portrait of the age of which we all form part.”—S. A. Barnett, *Worship and Work*, 79.

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THE forty years from the death of Kingsley in 1875 to the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 are crowded with events which involved fundamental changes. Queen Victoria continued her wonderful reign till her death in 1901, and under her a series of great men led the nation. Disraeli was Prime Minister from 1874 till 1880, and while maintaining peace in Eastern Europe, helped democracy at home by improving the conditions of the Trade Unions and giving the Conservative party a new sense of leadership of the working classes. Gladstone as Prime Minister advanced democracy by his Reform Bill in 1884, which enfranchised the agricultural labourer and the miner. But his failure to rescue General Gordon in the Sudan led to his fall from power in 1885. After this the dominant political question was Home Rule for Ireland, a bill for which was introduced by Gladstone in 1886 and failed to pass. A second bill was rejected in 1893, and for the rest of the reign the Conservative leader, Lord Salisbury, was at the head of the Government. Gladstone died in 1898. He had been a great political and social reformer from the highest Christian motives. It meant much for England that such a man should lead her in the path of change. The end of the nineteenth century saw us engaged in the

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South African War (1898-1902). This made the Empire a reality by calling out the loyalty of the other Dominions in the struggle. Before it was over the great Queen died. Her quiet influence for good in the social life of her people and her faithful recognition of her position as constitutional sovereign had made the monarchy the most popular institution in the country and the real bond of the Empire. Her Jubilees in 1887 and 1897 were opportunities for spontaneous outbursts of affection from the whole British race.

In Edward VII's reign democracy continued to advance. In 1902 primary and secondary education was handed over to the County Councils, and in 1906 the Trade Unions were given a privileged position in the Law Courts, releasing them from legal responsibility for their own wrongful acts. In 1911, when Edward VII had been succeeded by George V, the power of the House of Lords was curtailed by the Parliament Act which limited its veto and emphasised the power of the House of Commons. Relations with Ireland grew steadily worse and Labour, which had begun to be important in the Parliament of 1906, was making great demands for social reform which were difficult to satisfy. Suddenly in 1914 came the outbreak of the Great War and all quarrels and controversies at home were hushed while the Empire reluctantly but unflinchingly gathered itself together to repel the German invasion of Belgium, which threatened not only Belgium and France, but the British Empire and the whole world.

During these years the Church had been develop-

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ing, as we have seen. There were two striking facts about this progress at home. One was the success of the High Church party, which was changing from its earlier Tractarianism into a more definite Anglo-Catholicism which more and more looked with friendly eyes upon the great Church of Rome. The ideal was not, as it had been earlier, the assertion of the Catholicity of the Church of England as against the Church of Rome, but the return to an imaginary Catholicity common to the two Churches and the Greek Church to be found at some date in the Middle Ages, e.g. A.D. 1054. The other was the apparent failure of the Church to win the working classes for Christ, as Wesley and his friends had done. Kingsley had hoped for this and Gladstone worked for it. But as these forty years went by, in spite of the splendid work of individual clergymen and the increase of parish organisations, the working man seemed to turn more and more for his hopes and his ideals to democracy rather than to religion, and the Church appeared to be to a large extent unable to call out his enthusiasm or his loyalty.

It is important to go more deeply into this apparent failure, for it is the greatest problem with which we are confronted in our town parishes. The task of the Church was made much harder by the magnitude and variety of the changes which were going on in life and thought during these years. The education of the people, which had been made general in 1870 and compulsory in 1902, had changed the outlook of all classes towards religion. Acceptance of doctrines, once general, was now changed to doubt and hesitation. A knowledge of religious

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subjects derived from newspapers was regarded as sufficient to dispense with the learning that is gained from the study of books. The chief new subject of study was natural science and this was supposed to be hostile to religion. To meet its arguments the equipment of the clergy in general was unfortunately rather inadequate, and for some years their frequent insistence on statements which were afterwards shown to be either incompletely true or even actually false weakened the trust which laymen placed in them. The emphasis laid on natural science also made the physical side of life seem to be the one thing that mattered. Material comfort, wealth in terms of money, and mastery over the resources of nature increased with such extraordinary rapidity that men neglected their spiritual interests or were in too great a hurry to think about them.

The authority of the Church in meeting these difficulties was weakened. Its privileged position was being taken from it and it had not yet learnt the full meaning of its historical right of service to the whole nation. The Nonconformists, who had been kept hitherto in a position of inferiority, now under Gladstone's Liberal leadership claimed a position of social, political and religious equality with Churchmen. They no longer gloried in the name of Dissenters and called their places of worship Chapels, but they took the new name of Free Churchmen and changed the word Chapel into Church. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, instead of being regarded as the enemies of Protestantism, began to be looked upon as friends who had been

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unfairly used and must therefore be given all possible consideration, while the title Protestant was regarded as unworthy of a Church which claimed to be Catholic. The old assured position of religious leadership which had belonged to the Established Church was giving way to a new consciousness of the weakness caused by the disunion of Christians. The divided message of different bodies, each of which claimed to be speaking in the name of Christ, made the mass of the nation, which was beginning to question the truth of Christianity in the light of scientific truth, less disposed than it had been hitherto to accept the teaching of the Church as the one true philosophy of life.

Three foundations of the traditional Anglican teaching in particular were losing their hold on the national life. The first was the Bible, the verbal inspiration of which had been almost unquestioned since the Reformation. But the scientific problems raised by the early chapters of Genesis, the doubts thrown on some of the Old Testament prophecies and the honest questions about our Lord's human knowledge made laymen doubtful about the old views of Holy Scripture. The newer teaching of Christian scholarship was showing how much grander the new view of inspiration was because of what natural science was teaching us of evolution. But many men and women were only educated enough to doubt the old view without learning the new. The second was the English Sunday, which was being changed largely by the improved methods of transport provided by bicycles, trains and motors. It was so easy to go away from home on Sunday

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and enjoy the country that people refused to stay at home and go to church. The ideal of the day had been one of rest for three hundred years. Now and almost suddenly it became one of movement. Nor has the Church yet realised how to hallow this desire for movement for the glory of her Lord. The third was the belief in everlasting punishment which was firmly held by most Christians till the end of the nineteenth century. This gave strength to the appeal of the Church because of the fear of hell which would follow disobedience. Dean Farrar, whose book *Eternal Hope* was published in 1877, was perhaps the first prominent clergyman who dared to question the doctrine of the unending punishment of those who died without a belief in Jesus Christ. But his promotion to a bishopric was generally supposed to have been made impossible by this view. Some meaning must be given to the belief in hell if we are to trust in the righteousness of God and the punishment of wrong, but thinkers like John Stuart Mill were only voicing the general consciousness of the love of God when they refused to accept the doctrine of the unending punishment of the wicked.

This gradual changing attitude towards the Church and its teaching reached its climax in the Great War. The whole nation for over four years was suddenly called from a life of peace to the conditions of a campaign of inconceivable horror. The great question which men and women had to face was, "Why did God, if He is a God of love, allow the War?" Those who returned maimed from the trenches, those who were bereaved of those whom

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they loved best, and those who with the peace had to face poverty and unemployment, found it terribly difficult to accept the teaching of the Church about God unless, as many did, they found a new meaning in the Sacrifice of God on Calvary and a new assurance of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. But where men could not see God suffering with His children on the battlefield, so that even at that cost right might overcome wrong, they turned away sadly from the Church which seemed to fail to give them the sympathy which they so sorely needed. With this general weakening of religion due to the War came two others. One was the further relaxation of Sunday because during those years men had to fight abroad and work at home seven days every week, and the other was the passion for pleasure after the war was over. There was a wild reaction against discipline and with it the restraint of religion. The Church's task in facing these new problems is so difficult that her leaders might quail before its magnitude. But at times of greatest need have come those religious revivals which show the world that the Lord of the Church is not only Son of Man, but Son of God as well.

Perhaps the most perplexing of all these difficulties which since 1875 the Church of England has had to face was that of the attitude of the working man towards Christianity. Here three stages in the development of the problem must be noted. In the eighteenth century the modern working man in the towns comes into existence with the industrial revolution. In the nineteenth century he has very few political rights, but he begins to realise his economic

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position by the formation of Trade Unions after 1824 and his pathetic effort to secure the Charter in 1848. But the doctrine of *laissez faire* made it impossible for much to be done for him because State interference with the individual was regarded as a fundamental evil. Social reform, however, was gradually brought about by men like Lord Shaftesbury, Charles Kingsley, William Ewart Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli. The working man accepted the changes and hoped for more. In the twentieth century comes a new stage when his ideal is no longer gratefully to accept what the classes above will give him, but to have a positive social ideal of his own which he and his fellows will achieve for themselves and thereby bend the other classes in the community to his will. That is the meaning of Socialism.

The book which gave to the working man the economic philosophy which he needed was Karl Marx's *Capital*, published in 1867 in German and translated into English in 1886. The teaching of this book has had such an important effect that some of its points must be realised if we are to understand Socialism so far as it affects our parishes. I would commend to you a recent criticism of it by Mr. H. W. B. Joseph.¹ Marx began with a theory of value, which he explains as being due to the amount of human labour expended on each commodity and, as it were, congealed in it.² He then shows how part of this value goes back to this workman who creates it, but part of it as surplus-value is withheld

¹ *The Labour Theory of Value in Karl Marx*, by H. W. B. Joseph.

² Marx, *Capital*. (E.T.), 33.

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by the capitalist employer, who turns it into profit and thereby exploits the workman. The working day is made unduly long in order that the employer may increase the amount of this surplus-value which he appropriates to himself, and the workman is exhorted to recover this surplus for himself as his right against the injustice of capital.¹

This theory came like a new Gospel to the working classes after all the horrors of the system of *laissez faire* in England in the first seventy years of the nineteenth century. But it starts with a fallacy. Value does not only consist of the amount of labour expended on every commodity which is sold, but it is also due to men's wants. It is not something intrinsic in a thing but it is relative to the need which is felt for it. Of course labour is always one of the factors of the cost of production, but it is not the one invisible element common to all commodities which creates their value to those who buy them. Nor can the surplus-value be regarded as all belonging to the workman, of which he is defrauded by the employer. Part of the value is due to the brains and organising capacity of employers, managers and scientific researchers who, in Marx's view, are not labourers but capitalists because they do not work with their hands. Willingness to incur risks also enters into the cost of a commodity and losses must fall on the capitalist rather than on the labourer. "It is improper to speak of the value which each individual creates, since value is primarily created by the want felt for things, not by the labour spent on them: and though men's

¹ Marx, *Capital*, x.

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labours, as well as the operations of nature, are generally required in order to render things such as we want them, it is generally impossible to estimate quantitatively the share of any particular worker in the production of the physical changes that contribute to the existence of the finished product."¹ The value of labour, like the value of everything else, depends on the amount of want for it which exists and the workman cannot really claim that he has a right to a reward in wages for a value which does not exist.

Marx, unfortunately, by these arguments gave to the workmen at least three mistaken principles, on which their economic philosophy has tended to rest ever since. First, there is an inherent right to a reward for his work which every labourer has. The old hope for something like a living wage was henceforth regarded as a right inherent in the production of commodities because it was the amount of labour expended in them that gave them their value. Second, the national relationship between capital and labour is one of war, because capital has in the past exploited labour for its own profit by seizing the surplus-value for itself. Third, the basis of the cruelty of the *laissez faire* system was the weakness of the individual workman against the strong employer, therefore the ideal unit of society is not the strong individual with freedom to do as he likes, but the whole community which shall check the few strong individuals in the interests of the weak multitude. The State therefore should control all production and distribution in the inter-

¹ Joseph. 166.

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ests of the working class. Yet each of these three principles is mistaken because the premisses are mistaken. The workman cannot demand a wage which the industry cannot afford to pay or bankruptcy must follow. The relation between capital and labour cannot be war, but must be peace and co-operation or industry must collapse. The individual must be the basis of industry, or energy and enterprise will die down and stagnation and low wages must follow. The theories of Marx are attractive, but they cannot really lead to the improvement of industrial relations if they are in essence unsound.

This Marxian Socialism in various forms we have to meet in our parishes and to win our workmen to truth by explaining what we believe to be its errors. I believe that the way in which to gain the confidence of the working man is to show him our sympathy for his anxieties and for his ideals, but to explain to him that he cannot find the way to a better life and a securer position for himself and his family by believing what is not true.

It was to bring the message of Christianity to bear on the lives of working men in the forty years after Kingsley's death that Samuel Augustus Barnett spent his life. He was born on February 8th, 1844, at Bristol, where his father was a manufacturer. His only brother was born in 1846. In 1850 the family moved out to Clifton and there, until he was sixteen, he lived at home and studied intermittently under tutors, as he was not considered to be strong enough to go away to school.¹ It was always his intention to take Holy Orders and this object in life

¹ *Canon Barnett : His Life and Work*, by his Wife. (1921), p. 7.

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he kept steadily before himself. At the age of seventeen he went away for a year to a private tutor and in 1862, at the age of eighteen, he went into residence as an undergraduate at Wadham College, Oxford. This was the College chosen by his father "because its Warden, Dr. Simmonds, was an unbending Tory and a rigid Evangelical, virtues which were not calculated to appeal to a young man, who, mentally awakened, was questioning all things."¹

Here, for the sake of economy, he cut down his expenditure to the injury of his digestion, and crammed the work of reading for the Honours Schools into three years instead of the usual four. He took no prominent part in athletics. Of his religious life at this period there is scarcely any record. In 1865 he took his B.A. Degree with Second Class Honours in Law and History. For the next year he lived on at Oxford and supported himself by taking pupils and greatly enjoyed the opportunity for wider reading. He spent a year as a Master at Winchester College and with the money he thus saved went for a tour to the United States in 1867, where he saw the results of the recent Civil War. After his return to England he was ordained Deacon in the December of that year and became Curate of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, London, to the Rev. W. H. Fremantle, afterwards Dean of Ripon. The conditions of life among the poor in this part of London were then very bad. One writer says : "The Sanitary Acts are only permissive and partial in their administration, owners of wretched house property defy interference and the

¹ *Life*, p. 9.

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authorities are supine.”¹ The children fared badly indeed. “The masters and mistresses of ragged schools declare that the children continually cry with hunger and frequently fall exhausted from their seats for want of food, and that it is impossible to teach them in such a state.”² To remedy these evils various charitable societies and agencies were established, but without co-ordination or system, so that they had an evil influence on the poor, who were taught to beg and lie about their circumstances and expect help from the rich.³ In such circumstances Barnett’s clerical life began. Then, as always, he held that religion was the one solution of social problems, though he was conscious of the defects of the Church he loved and served. He preached thoughtfully but not very fluently. He tried to make everyone realise his or her duty to be an active member of the Church. He spent much time in the Day Schools and started an evening club for men. In 1869 he met Miss Octavia Hill and together they founded the Charity Organisation Society as the best means of combining charitable help with the maintenance of self-respect. Personal help is the secret of it all. “Alleviation of distress,” wrote Miss Hill that year, “may be systematically arranged by a society, but I am satisfied that without strong personal influence, no radical cure of those who have fallen low can be effected.”⁴ Miss Hill was older than Barnett and took him as her pupil and won his loyalty for her ideals and methods of help. “Counting that the only method improving social conditions was by raising individuals, she held that it was

¹ *Life*, p. 18.

² *Life*, p. 20.

³ *Life*, p. 21.

⁴ *Life*, p. 29.

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impertinent to the poor and injurious to their characters to offer them doles. They should be lifted out of their pauperism by being expected to be self-dependent and in evidence of respect, be offered work instead of doles, even if work had to be created artificially.”¹ These were his principles throughout his life.

In June, 1872, Barnett became engaged to Miss Rowland, who was a niece of Miss Octavia Hill. In the autumn of that year he had the offer of a living near Oxford, which would have given him country air and enabled him to marry. But realising that his work was among the poor of London, he refused to go there. Before the end of the year came the offer of St. Jude’s, Whitechapel, by the Bishop of London, Dr. Jackson, who wrote : “ Do not hurry in your decision. It is the worst parish in my diocese, inhabited mainly by a criminal population, and one which has, I fear, been much corrupted by doles.”² The church was a brick building with stone copings. Inside, huge galleries blocked the windows and extended half across the Church, which was not only dark and dirty, but unwarmed. The young couple went to see it. “ Which way shall we decide ? ” he said. “ Let us try it, but we may fail,” was the answer.³ So Barnett’s long career in East London began.

On January 28th, 1873, he was married and he and his wife settled down to their new work in March. The area of the parish was but a few acres, with Commercial Street running down the middle. There were two or three narrow streets lined with

¹ *Life*, p. 35.

² *Life*, p. 68.

³ *Life*, p. 69.

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fairly decent cottages occupied entirely by Jews, but with these exceptions, the whole parish was covered with a network of courts and alleys.¹ In these homes people lived in whom it was hard to see the likeness of the Divine. Usually they did not work, they stole and received stolen goods, drank, gambled and fought. In the centre of the population stood St. Jude's Church and schools, both emptied and unused. After a year's work in 1874 Barnett reported progress. "The congregation has risen to about thirty in the mornings and fifty to one hundred in the evenings; a mixed Choir is under training and the Schools have been opened for boys and girls together, of whom 142 are on the register." "The end we have in view is that everyone may know God as a Father."² In 1877 he says of his aims in a report: "If one sentence could explain the principle of our work it is that we aim at decreasing not suffering but sin."³ He was now and all through life a social reformer, because his one desire was to help people to live their lives in relation with God.⁴ In the same year he writes after the Church had been decorated and cleaned: "Why do the people not come to Church? I don't think the neglect of Church attendance implies an absence of religious feelings: the feelings exist but they find no expression in the means of worship provided."⁵ Yet he felt their absence keenly. "It would be hard," he says in 1879, "to exaggerate the pain which we suffer by reason of our failure to use the Church."⁶ In those days he always wrote his sermons, which

¹ *Life*, pp. 73, 74.

⁴ *Life*, p. 76.

² *Life*, p. 75.

⁵ *Life*, p. 78.

³ *Life*, p. 75.

⁶ *Life*, p. 79.

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he rarely preached to more than 100 or 150 people, but after a few years' experience he gained more courage and spoke from notes. Sermons, however, did not seem to him of paramount importance.¹

Of his efforts to relieve poverty during these first years at Whitechapel he writes in 1874 : " Indiscriminate charity is among the curses of London. The people never learn to work or to save ; out-relief from the House or the dole of the charitable has stood in the way of providence which God their Father would have taught them."² Every case for relief was investigated by the Committee of the Charity Organisation Society but no money was given at the Vicarage nor by the Committee except on emergency. It made the Vicar very unpopular with many at first, but he knew that he was right. As he says in 1878 : " I wish charitable people could become more sensible of the injustice done by unwise relief. It is often said, it is best to err on the side of giving. Seeing what I see, I am disposed to say, it is best to err on the side of refusing. The damage to the body of the applicant is less real and more distant than the damage to his spirit."³

As the years went on, " it was the sense of impotency," writes Mrs. Barnett, " caused by living in the midst of people whose needs, spiritual, mental and physical, ever cried for remedy, it was the knowledge that we could neither woo them to worship God nor break down their suspicions of man, that made us ready to take any step that would bring us nearer to them."⁴ One of the means adopted was the provision of good music in the church. The

¹ *Life*, p. 79.

² *Life*, p. 83.

³ *Life*, p. 85.

⁴ *Life*, p. 89.

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generosity of musical people, whether professional or amateur, was wonderful. The leaders came and also choirs and musical societies from all over London. Oratorios and sacred music of all sorts were given.¹ Barnett's zeal for music was all the more remarkable as he could not sing himself and had no ear either for time or tune. Besides providing music, he invited well-known clergymen to give lectures in church on great men and on subjects of moral, social and religious interest. A special children's service was started in the schoolroom and Mrs. Barnett began a Mothers' Meeting, which gave the women a new sense of fellowship. In 1878 was started the Communicants' Society, which met monthly at the Vicarage, and though never large, kept the Vicar in touch with the keen younger members of his congregation. More and more these various activities drew people to the Vicarage, which had to be enlarged by a big drawing-room in 1884. When asked how he kept all his growing band of workers together, "Hospitality," was the reply. "St. Jude's and Toynbee Hall and the Exhibition are all built on my wife's tea-table."²

Much good work was done by ladies from the West End, who worked under Barnett among the girls of Whitechapel. In 1877 a new venture was started, when some slum property in the parish was bought, repaired and improved so that some of the worst inhabitants could be removed. This and other property similarly bought or built afterwards was always managed by lady rent-collectors on the lines laid down by Miss Octavia Hill. The weekly pay-

¹ *Life*, pp. 92, 93.

² *Life*, p. 115.

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ment of rent was a personal link between landlord and tenant to the advantage of both. In 1883 Barnett and his friends started the East End Dwellings Company with a capital of £36,000,¹ and by 1887, after many delays, the Company was able to accommodate 300 families in its dwellings. Amidst all these activities the Vicar was sometimes depressed because he could not touch the spiritual side of his people more definitely. When criticised, as he often was, about his methods of approach to them, he would sometimes humbly confess that the small number of worshippers at church was an evidence of his personal failure to reach the deepest nature of those entrusted to his care, and he would question his fitness for his work.² It was the confession of the saint who was really doing mighty things for God.

Hospitality drew many people of all classes to the Vicarage and friends with country houses often invited parties from St. Jude's to visit them. Barnett counted it a religious duty to give parties and urged wealthy people to entertain parties of his parishioners.³ "Those who break bread together with the poor, still find that One is present Who turns the meal into a Holy Communion," he said in 1888.⁴ In 1878 his genius for hospitality took a new form when he started the Children's Country Holiday Fund for sending poor children from London for a fortnight's holiday with country folks in their cottages. The London parents saved the ten shilling fee, which just covered the expense for the country

¹ *Life*, p. 134.

² *Life*, 144.

³ *Life*, p. 156.

⁴ *Life*, p. 161.

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mother, and new friendships were made and health restored in thousands of cases. But as this and other organisations grew, Barnett always maintained his principle that social reform must be personal and individual. Hanging on the wall in his drawing-room were the words "One by One," which gave the secret of the activities of the man for whom the individuality of each human being was worthy of reverence for his Master's sake.¹

From 1873 onwards Barnett was a Guardian of the Poor in Whitechapel and consistently followed a policy of reducing out door relief as much as possible. This often led to suffering, but he held "that the pauper spirit which poisoned the masses of the indigent was a natural evil which would become worse and that, like wise physicians, we must bear to inflict suffering if it were necessary to effect a cure."² Where relief was refused, the cases were considered by the Charity Organisation Society. Later, in 1901, he wrote: "It may be that society ought to be reorganised—that is matter for argument. But while it is on its present basis there is abundant proof that the poor are better off when Guardians refuse out-relief and bring to their service the goodwill of charity. . . . Out-relief is a sort of monster which destroys its own parent, the local rates from which it is drawn."³ To some he seemed only the social reformer who was trying novel ways to help the physical conditions under which the poor lived. "Yet, in his teaching and his visiting and his correspondence he was always seeking to bring seekers after truth face to face with the bedrock of

¹ *Life*, p. 184.

² *Life*, p. 202.

³ *Life*, pp. 207, 208

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humanity and divinity. Faith in the power of love, dependence on ideal good, reality of spiritual life, freedom of perfect service, the eternity of righteousness, love of God, grace of Jesus Christ, fellowship of the Holy Spirit, these were the eternal facts on which he rested.”¹

In public worship he was always satisfied with the liturgy of the Church of England, but he deeply grieved over the failure of the Church’s ritual to attract the people. In 1881, therefore, the consent of Bishop Walsham How was obtained for a special Sunday evening service, which went on at St. Jude’s Church for twenty-four years and was called “the Worship Hour.” Its form varied a good deal, but there were prayers and hymns, anthems and readings from the Bible and well-known authors.² These services drew many to the church, especially in the dimly lighted aisles. Alongside the church was the school in which Barnett took great interest. He was very anxious to give reality to the religious teaching. To the Bible he gave much attention, himself giving the lessons four mornings in every week, to the teachers as well as to the children.³ He encouraged outings for the children in small numbers, but monster day treats fell under his clear-sighted condemnation as promoting neither health nor real enjoyment. His love for and knowledge of children was one of the most striking things about him all through his life.⁴

During these years at St. Jude’s the Vicar and his wife paid frequent visits to Oxford to enlist the

¹ *Life*, p. 270.

² *Life*, pp. 276, 177..

³ *Life*, p. 290.

⁴ *Life*, p. 297.

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interest of the undergraduates in social problems. The first of these visits was in 1875. Leaders of thought in Oxford like Jowett, A. L. Smith and T. H. Green were much in sympathy, and meetings and tea-parties were held in various colleges.¹ Undergraduates began to pay visits to Whitechapel and of these the most important were Arnold Toynbee, Bolton King, Alfred Milner and the present Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Cosmo Gordon Lang. At a meeting in Oxford in 1883 the idea of a house to which Oxford men could come and stay in Whitechapel to do social work began to take shape, and a building called Toynbee Hall, in memory of Toynbee, was built near the vicarage in 1884 and Barnett became its first Warden.² So the first University Settlement was founded, and as Vicar and Warden he could bring the help of Oxford to bear on his growing religious and philanthropic schemes. More and more he worked through the residents who took the lead in the local, political, social, educational and religious life of Whitechapel. The purpose underlying all these activities was the same—"to increase knowledge and to create friendship; in short, to learn about God and to love men."³ There were soon eighteen residents at Toynbee, and to them were added sixty residents not from Oxford but from East London. Many of these residents were teachers in elementary schools, and all of them were students who were earning their living during the day and attended classes and clubs in the evenings. For them Wadham House was built in 1887 and Balliol House in 1890.⁴ At

¹ *Life*, p. 302 ff. ² *Life*, p. 314 ff. ³ *Life*, p. 320. ⁴ *Life*, p. 325.

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Toynbee the number of classes for all sorts of subjects increased rapidly till it was difficult to find room for them. All the teachers were volunteers, which made the high standard of their teaching all the more valuable. Beyond the classes were the numerous clubs which grew out of them, some for discussion, some for games, some for music, some for excursions. In 1893 Sunday morning lectures were provided and met with a quick response. Pupil teachers at the neighbouring schools formed a pupil teachers' centre at the Settlement and learned much about ideals and about fellowship. A scheme was worked out by which, after an examination, the best of these were sent up to Oxford and Cambridge with bursaries.¹ In 1885 and the following years elementary teachers from East London spent some weeks in August in Oxford in order to obtain something of what the older Universities had to give. Barnett's own contribution to the training of these teachers was on the subject of religion, and he gave courses of lectures to them on the Bible. "Religious education," he said, "can only be undertaken by religious persons : they who through Jesus Christ have found peace and joy in union with God will alone be able to preach Him as the Way, the Truth and the Life."² Out of these activities among the teachers grew up the Toynbee Travellers' Club, which made excursions abroad for the first time in 1888 and gave a new world-vision to many who would otherwise not have been able to leave England. At home there was the Literary and Discussion Society, where all kinds of subjects were

¹ *Life*, pp. 343, 345.

² *Life*, p. 355.

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debated and lectures given by distinguished visitors.¹ The Toynbee Guild of Compassion gave scope for various activities among the sick and poor of the neighbourhood.² A good library for the students at all these classes and discussions was soon needed. At first it was housed in the dining room of the Settlement, but soon a new library was built and by 1888 there were in it nearly 4,000 volumes and by 1900 over 7,000.³ This led to the building of the Whitechapel Free Library in 1891, and several other public libraries in East London were soon erected.⁴

After Toynbee Hall was built the visits of the Warden to Oxford became more frequent than ever in order to maintain the interest of the Senior and Junior members of the University in the Settlement and to replenish the ever-changing number of residents. The interest of Oxford in Toynbee never flagged, though the foundation of Oxford House in Bethnal Green in 1884 as a more definitely Church of England Settlement pained Barnett a good deal. Cambridge followed suit with her College Missions in South London. The Settlement movement had begun and was steadily growing, and in 1896 he started a union of workers from all the different Settlements.

In 1892 a new Warden's Lodge was built at Toynbee and Mr. and Mrs. Barnett moved out of St. Jude's Vicarage into it. Their places in their old home were filled by the Curate, the Rev. Ronald Bayne, with his wife and family. Here in 1896 the

¹ *Life*, p. 368.

² *Life*, p. 374.

³ *Life*, pp. 394, 395.

⁴ *Life*, p. 397.

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Warden fought the East London Water Works Company, whom he held to be responsible for a serious outbreak of diphtheria and scarlet fever because of the insufficient supply of water. His appeal to the Local Government Board forced the company to improve the supply of water and checked the disease. The legal rights of the poor against companies and individuals were explained to them after 1889 by the formation of a Tenants' Defence Committee, which checked grasping landlords. Trade Unions held meetings at the Settlement not infrequently, and the Warden was often an invisible but a potent influence in labour disputes,¹ while through the various clubs Toynbee exercised an enormous power for good on the general life and standard of behaviour in East London.² One of the means used to bring people of all classes together was by the "Pals" Parties, one of which took place in 1888, when each resident had four of his East London friends, so there were about seventy guests.³ Another was the great party held once a year before the winter session began, when all the Toynbee students were invited. The Warden always made a speech at these gatherings, in which he emphasised the meaning and importance of friendship.⁴ Beside these, all sorts of social gatherings were always being held. The Report of 1897 remarked that "thousands of persons have been brought together at Toynbee Hall at conversaziones and parties, at meetings of societies and at concerts and miscellaneous gatherings, for the organisation of which

¹ *Life*, p. 459.

² *Life*, p. 464.

³ *Life*, p. 470.

⁴ *Life*, p. 471.

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the Entertainment Committee is responsible. Every year increases the number of those who say that through the Hall life for them has been touched with finer impulses.”¹

Towards service on municipal bodies and established organisations the Warden directed all the ablest of his men. Of fifteen men in residence in the winter of 1888 “six were managers in elementary schools, four were members of Committees of the Charity Organisation Society, five were workers in connection with the Children’s Country Holiday Fund, one was elected a Guardian of the Poor.”² Some of the residents stayed on for several years and so took a really leading part in the life of the district. Through all their activities was felt the personality of the Warden, of whom a friend wrote : “ His whole life was an expression of the saying, ‘ Be not afraid. Righteousness overcometh the world.’ He made men, because he believed in men. And he believed in men, because, more than any man I have ever met, he believed in God.”³ In 1904 Sunday discussions were started under his chairmanship and there he made his quiet religious influence tell on many who would never go inside a church.⁴ His influence was also exerted in favour of opening the Museums on Sunday as a means to help people to keep holy the Sabbath Day.⁵ He was, as a Christian, anxious to reform the older Universities in order that they might help to teach the working man. “ I propose,” he wrote, “ that the University of Oxford provide teaching which

¹ *Life*, p. 475.

² *Life*, p. 484.

³ *Life*, p. 489.

⁴ *Life*, p. 493.

⁵ *Life*, p. 495.

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will help workmen as workmen to take large views of trade, of social relations and of government. With this view courses of study in these subjects extending over two years, arranged in consultation with workmen leaders and leading to a diploma, could be offered. Teachers fitted to give teaching in such subjects and familiar with workmen's habits of thought and speech, could be trained and set to teach in Oxford.”¹

One of the most important activities on which Barnett embarked was the Whitechapel Exhibition. The first was held in the schoolroom during the Easter holidays in 1881. There were some pictures, pottery and other objects of beauty. It was repeated on a larger scale in 1882 and opened on Sundays as well as weekdays, though some opposition was raised to this procedure. When Toynbee Hall was built the Exhibition was greatly enlarged and the Warden spent much time in explaining the meaning of the pictures to the crowds who came to see them, especially on Sundays. His artistic sense was all the more remarkable when it is remembered that he was colour-blind. Friends who had pictures, and artists who painted them, lent their best treasures for the good of the people in Whitechapel. The Exhibition of 1893 was of exceptional beauty. The committee had to insure it for £50,000 and the crowds lingered before the pictures day after day.² Barnett regarded the Exhibition as a fresh means of making a religious appeal to the people through the eye. “We must not confuse means and ends,” he said in 1894. “The end in view is the raising of man to his calling

¹ *Life*, p. 505.

² *Life*, pp. 549, 550.

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in Jesus Christ, the development of the Divine in the human. For this purpose art has a greater part to play than is often imagined, but it will be a mistake if it is thought that a familiarity with good pictures will meet the needs of East London. There is only one thing which is absolutely needful and that is the knowledge of God."¹

All this vast accumulation of work was beginning to tell on the Warden's health and in 1889 he took Heath End House at Hampstead, renaming it St. Jude's Cottage, where he might come for a night's rest every week, after the rush of Toynbee. Here girls could be provided with a Convalescent Home and friends could pay visits. Here in 1892 Barnett had a serious attack of diphtheria, but was nursed back into life by his wife. Here his adopted daughter Dorothy Noel Woods died of the same disease in 1901.²

In August, 1893, he accepted the offer of a Canonry at Bristol, and so returned to the home of his youth, there to do the work of teaching and preaching, unconnected with parish machinery or the organisations inseparable from social service.³ He was in his fiftieth year, and was feeling the need of some relief from his double duties as Vicar and Warden. He therefore resigned the Vicarage of St. Jude's on his appointment as a Canon, but he retained the Wardenship of Toynbee Hall. The three months' residence each year at Bristol was so complete a change from Whitechapel that his health greatly improved. For thirteen years he threw himself into the social and religious life of Bristol

¹ *Life*, p. 564.

² *Life*, p. 537.

³ *Life*, p. 590.

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and enjoyed the beauty of the surrounding country, which he learnt to explore on a bicycle. The sermons in the Cathedral came first in importance in his estimate of his work as Canon. He often preached on the duty of reforming society. Strikes, trade unionism, white slavery, socialism, housing reform, class divisions and Sunday observance were severely and fearlessly handled.¹ Yet his preaching was not popular and did not attract large congregations, which was a deep disappointment to him.² He explained to one critic in 1902, who thought he was too much of a Socialist in his views, for Christian hearers : "I am a Socialist in so far as I desire for everyone equality of opportunity, an equal chance of a healthy life and of enjoying the best gifts of his age. I put it in another way by saying I would give to everyone that which he does not want, i.e. those advantages which they themselves have not learnt to appreciate."³ He loved the Cathedral and its services and tried to make it a real centre for the religious life of the city. His continued cry was "Democratise the Church."⁴ At Bristol, as in Whitechapel, he was still face to face with the relief of poverty, but he held to his old principles. "Believing that all misery was the result of wrong-doing, he thought that to relieve it without reforming the character which had caused it was but to interrupt God's methods of teaching mankind."⁵ His teaching was overruled in times of distress in London, when great relief funds for the poor were opened at the Mansion House and by

¹ *Life*, pp. 604, 605.

² *Life*, p. 607.

³ *Life*, p. 614.

⁴ *Life*, p. 618.

⁵ *Life*, p. 622.

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some of the big newspapers and distributed lavishly to those who often deserved it least. The winter of 1903¹ was marked by a great trade depression. A Mansion House Fund was opened but more carefully distributed, and work rather than relief was offered to the applicants. Yet even this was not wholly satisfactory, for, as he wrote, “the work was ill done and proved to be very costly. The men knew that it was made for them, that no one was concerned to dismiss them. So slack work became the order of the day.”² He divided those out of work into the unemployed and the unemployable. For the first he recommended work and training for the father of a family, i.e. labour-colonies like that at Hollesley Bay, and maintenance of the wife and children, till work was found, and for the second, detention.³ He urged the clergy to teach social reform by proclaiming the wickedness of selfishness and luxury among the rich, and idleness and hatred among the poor.⁴ Yet he was conscious of the apparent failure of his plans for social betterment. With regard to social schemes, he writes in 1892, “they seem to have made no appreciable difference.”⁵ But he was always hopeful because he believed in God. His great hope was that those who had leisure and education would use their talents in local government and so really help the poor.⁶ He was in favour of “old age pensions of 10s. a week for all who had kept themselves until the age of sixty without workhouse aid. . . . If such pensions were the right of all, none would be tempted to lie

¹ *Life*, p. 635.

² *Life*, pp. 637, 639.

³ *Life*, p. 653.

⁴ *Life*, p. 662.

⁵ *Life*, p. 665.

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to get them, nor would any be tempted to spy and bully in order to show the undesert of applicants.”¹

In June, 1906, Canon Barnett accepted a Canonry at Westminster.² Here for seven years he influenced the metropolis from the Abbey. He resigned the Wardenship of Toynbee Hall, as he was sixty-two and his health was not good. It was henceforth his business to direct others towards social work and to advise them how to do it. His sermons touched large numbers of people and his emphasis on the social implications of Christianity met with a growing response. He loved the Abbey with its historic associations and tried to make it more and more a centre of religious life in London. He planned services for various organisations and was always glad to take parties of interested people over the building. He brought back to life again the mighty dead as he told again the story of their great deeds. Yet all the while his health was slowly declining. He found it more and more difficult to perform his duties owing to heart trouble. At last on June 17th, 1913, he died. It was a wonderful life of Christian service, and the inscription on his monument in Westminster Abbey well sums it up : “ Believing that we are all members one of another, he laboured unceasingly to unite men in the service of God and by his counsel and example inspired many to seek for themselves and for the nation the things that are eternal.”³

It is, I believe, along the lines which Canon Barnett laid down that we shall best face the social problems which confront us in all town parishes. In

¹ *Life*, p. 675.

² *Life*, p. 735.

³ *Life*, p. 782.

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this transitional age when all foundations seem to be threatened and the one positive ideal which the working men have set before themselves is Socialism, what is our answer to be? I think we must begin by confessing our failure in the past. The charge against us is that the Church has always been on the side of the rich against the poor, of capital against labour. We have in fact to live down our mistakes in the *laissez faire* period. The Church then was slow to see that social reform was Christian and instead of helping the reformers like Lord Shaftesbury and Gladstone, she either resisted them or left them unaided in their struggles. We have to show to-day that we are sorry for this if we are to be believed by the descendants of those who suffered in the first three-quarters of the last century. If we win their confidence in our visiting and in our sermons we need to show them that there is a positive contribution to social problems which we, as Christians, have to make.

We must begin by teaching that God is love. God is vague and impersonal to the working man to-day and therefore reforms fail. God is regarded as a Being who is amiable because He is loving and Who can hardly be almighty if He allows pain and suffering. It is for us to insist that God is real and personal and almighty. His love does not mean mere benevolence, but the will that men should grow like Himself in character by using rightly all the circumstances of life, wealth or poverty, happiness or sorrow, strength or weakness. The sure evidence of what the love of God really means is the life and death of Jesus Christ, Who is God in human form.

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Until He came, men's ideas about God suggested a King. Christ showed Himself as the Son of Man. If God is really like Jesus Christ He must be someone who knows and understands man and has experienced hunger and poverty and sorrow. This perhaps the workman understands to the extent of admiring the character of Jesus Christ. The difficulty is that this seems to stand for something weak. We must meet this with the truth that Christ is also the Son of God. I am sure that this is best explained by seeing how the belief first arose among those early followers in Palestine. Men assume that our Lord's Divinity has been accepted by the clergy without sufficient evidence. To explain it on the lines of Canon Liddon's *Divinity of Our Lord* or Bishop Gore's *Incarnation of the Son of God* is to show the tremendous importance of such a belief if we really hope for progress and the future of the human race.

Jesus Christ as Son of Man and Son of God laid down the true principles of social life which we need to remember in dealing with modern conditions. The principle is found in St. Matthew xxii, 34-40. "When the Pharisees had heard that he had put the Sadducees to silence they were gathered together. Then one of them, which was a lawyer, asked him a question, tempting him and saying, Master, which is the great commandment in the law? Jesus said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the

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law and the prophets.” That is the secret of social betterment ; the love of God wholeheartedly first and then the love of our neighbour follows. Socialism puts the love of our neighbour first and the love of God is left out. Marx was not a Christian and regarded Socialism as the solution of the needs of the working man where Christianity had failed. We Christians need to insist that without the love of God the real love of our neighbour cannot exist. This summary by Christ of the Ten Commandments is sometimes regarded as superseding them. I believe that it is easier to find in our Lord’s words the true spirit underlying the older Commandments than their mere abrogation.¹ It is important to remember that in the Sermon on the Mount, He gives a new spiritual meaning to three of the Commandments. It is surely therefore right for us to find a similar meaning for the other seven. They are amazingly helpful to-day and show us wonderfully clearly what our social aims should be. If Christ taught us that the thing which matters more than anything else is to love God, the first four Commandments help us to understand what this means.

The first Commandment is “I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt have none other Gods but Me.” This forbids wrong ideas about God. He is not a Being about whose existence we can be doubtful or agnostic. He is not chance or fate or mere force. To the Jew, he was Jehovah. To Christians He is God the Father seen under human limitations as Jesus Christ. To believe in His love is the one thing

¹ A. W. Robinson. *Church Catechism Explained*. Part III. I owe most of the following ideas about the Commandments to Canon Robinson.

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that matters. We can only love Him because He first so loved the world that He sent His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life.¹

The second Commandment is “Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image,” which originally meant to veto idolatry in a polytheistic age. We do not make wooden idols to-day but we do create for ourselves other objects of worship than God. Wealth, power, the laws of nature, material comfort, family ties, even certain forms of religious worship may become the things to which we really dedicate our lives. If so, we are robbing God of what is alone His due.

The third Commandment is “Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh His name in vain.” This is a demand for reverence for God in conversation and is surely needed now. Swearing, speaking lightly of God, and deliberately refusing to allow anything greater than man in the Universe are all very prevalent to-day, and not least among workmen when at work. This is a habit of thought and speech which brings its own punishment. Gradually those who offend find it difficult to believe in God and the sense of reverence for the Unseen fades from their minds, and is extraordinarily hard to recover.

The fourth Commandment is “Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath Day.” The Jewish Sabbath has passed away, but it was deliberately changed to something better by the early Christians,

¹ St. John, iii, 16.

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the Lord's Day, the first day of the week, when His resurrection was commemorated. This raises the whole question of Sunday observance, which is of tremendous importance in our social and national life to-day. One of our most treasured inheritances is our English Sunday. It has been ever since the seventeenth century one of the great bulwarks of our religion, one of the lasting gifts of our Puritan ancestors. It was the pride of England up to a few years ago to contrast our Sunday with that of the Continent and to uphold the quiet and peace which rested on the land throughout the day. Church-going was the normal habit of the middle and upper class families during the greater part of the nineteenth century. Now a reaction against this has come suddenly upon us and the Church is bewildered by it. It is, as we have seen, largely due to the new facilities for movement, especially the development of motor transit within twenty years. Partly it is due to the spread of education which makes people less content to stay at home when they can go about and enjoy the beauty of nature. Partly it is due to the decay of home life and the lessened sense of their duty towards their family which characterises the rising generation. Partly it arises from the existence of alternatives to worship, such as the open cinema, private theatricals and organised games. One great reason is the activity of the Labour party, which organises its meetings on Sundays as being the one day when its members can attend them.

What is to be our attitude about Sunday observance in our parishes? There are really three facts to

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be considered, God, our fellow-men, and ourselves, and everything depends upon the order in which we place them. Many people put self first. To them Sunday is the week-end, the day on which they consider rest for their bodies as their chief occupation. They rest in bed and get up to eat a heavy midday meal, or they dig on their allotments or in their gardens, they go for motor rides or play games or take long walks in order that their physical health may be improved and their need for pleasure satisfied. There is something to be said for this in the rush of modern life during the week, but almost inevitably it leads to a selfish view of the day of rest.

Such people would put second any obligations to their fellow-men. All have a consciousness of the claims of their neighbours upon them, but it is difficult usually to find opportunity to help them. We have duties to the members of our families. Working men have their sense of fellowship developed by membership of a Trade Union or a club. There is the natural friendship for our neighbours which is quickened at times of illness, unemployment or distress. Yet there is very little consciousness that Sunday, the day of leisure, is the time when, more than on any other day, there is an opportunity for seeking out our neighbours and caring for their needs. Service, nevertheless, is a higher ideal than selfishness.

The worship of God seems to such men the third and least obvious employment on Sunday. They are not sure enough about God and His nature to realise His claims upon their attention. Perhaps they wish that they knew Him better or they may

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feel that they are as good without any outward religion as those who make a profession of it. In some cases there is an honest fear of hypocrisy if they join in the observances with which they are not wholly in sympathy. Whatever may be the cause, God is too far from their lives for them to go to His house on Sundays.

The attitude of the Christian to Sunday is wholly different because he reverses the order in which he places these three facts. To him God comes first. He is real, personal and a Father, revealed in Jesus Christ. Sunday, therefore, is the Lord's Day, the first day of the week, when the disciples of the Master gather together in their Lord's house to worship Him, to pray to Him and praise Him, to read about Him in the Bible, to hear about His teaching and to join in the Feast which symbolises their utter dependence on His life in their souls.

This worship of God in Christ leads to the service of their fellow-men on Sunday, the day of rest and of Christian activity. On that day Christians put family life next to the worship of God, for the home is a sacred place. They teach children in Sunday Schools so that they may grow up knowing the Lord that loved them. They visit those who are sick and help them by prayer to see God's blessing in suffering. They deepen their knowledge of their holy faith by reading and they pass on to others in open-air services the faith which is the secret of their lives.

To the Christian self comes last on Sunday. To him the recreation of the body and physical health are not of the first importance. He realises that he is

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a spiritual being living for a time in a body and therefore on Sunday he seeks the things of the spirit, love and joy and peace, faith and hope, beauty, goodness and truth for these are the things that lead him back to God in Whose image he is created. He finds in Sunday the inspiration by which he lives and works during the week.

If we are to keep our English Sunday, I believe that it is by maintaining such principles as these, that we shall do it. We are sometimes reminded that "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath," to which we can only add in reply that the next sentence is "Therefore the Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath."

These first four Commandments teach us, as the Catechism says, our duty towards God. The last six teach us our duty towards our neighbour. The great instance to illustrate this is the parable of the Good Samaritan. But it is worth while remembering that St. Luke, who tells the story as our Lord's explanation of neighbourliness, adds it to his account of Christ's comment on the two great Commandments which sum up the Law and the Prophets. Our duty to love God is assumed before the parable becomes possible. These six Commandments are still extraordinarily helpful in showing what our attitude as Christians towards social reform should be.

The fifth Commandment is "Honour thy father and thy mother." The home is a natural institution and God's blessing rests on family life. There we learn love, loyalty, humility, obedience, service. The good son becomes a loyal citizen and the good

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parent trains up the Christian society of the next generation. The Christian home must be the basis alike of Church and State.

The sixth Commandment is “Thou shalt do no murder.” Killing under certain circumstances is justifiable, as in the case of the soldier or the policeman or in self-defence. But, as Christ shows, it is the angry spirit which is forbidden lest it lead to murder. It is the spirit of malice and ill-will and hatred that must be stopped, alike in international affairs, in home politics and in industrial disputes. It is the antithesis of the Christian spirit.

The seventh Commandment is “Thou shalt not commit adultery.” One of our national dangers now, as always, is impurity. It was against this that Christ was most outspoken and He explained this Commandment as checking even the impure thought. In the problems of sex to-day the Christian must stand for the true nature of love. Our growing boys and girls need to learn that wedded love is the holiest gift of God, and they must never by thought, word or deed make themselves unworthy of the love of a good man or a good woman, when it shall some day be given them. Friendships between the sexes should always help, not hinder, the consciousness of God.

The eighth Commandment is “Thou shalt not steal.” This involves honesty in all our financial relations with other people. We must be “true and just in all our dealings.” This is the very foundation of all economics. If obeyed it would prevent the employer from making undue profits, it would make impossible any “ca’ canny” policy on the part of

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the workman, it would end all sweated labour, it would abolish slum property. Not least, it would stop all betting and gambling, the evil of which is that the gambler tries to take money from others without earning it.

The ninth Commandment is “Thou shalt not bear false witness.” This demands loyalty to truth in speaking about others. Always to tell the truth would purify our party politics, it would check exaggeration in conversation, it would put an end to slander and scandal. The difficulties between capital and labour would be well on the way to solution if all the leaders rigidly aimed at speaking the truth about each other.

The tenth Commandment is “Thou shalt not covet.” That prohibits the spirit of discontent, which is the parent of so much social unrest. There is a divine discontent which desires to right abuses. But it easily becomes merely a spirit of grumbling because others have what we would like to have. To expect society to give us all the material comforts of life which we cannot obtain for ourselves, to blame the rich for all the troubles of the poor, or to expect the rewards of labour without working for them is to break this Commandment.

Jesus Christ took these ten Commandments and gave them a new inspiration by giving his followers the secret of love “which is the fulfilment of the law.” To love God in Christ is the only way in which we can learn to love our fellow men. Marxian Socialism also aims at love in order to check the wrongs of *laissez faire*. But in practice love for one’s neighbour without the inspiration of Christi-

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anity tends to lose its power in two directions. In the first place it tends to become limited to the members of a man's own class and indignation at wrongs suffered by that class may become ill-will against, and even hatred of, other classes. In the second place, there is sometimes a lack of self-discipline. There is a danger in encouraging fellowship by the promise of material advantages. "Thou shalt" was often a legitimate call to those who were down-trodden in the nineteenth century. To-day in the twentieth century "thou shalt not" is sometimes a finer call to working men who are learning their great strength in a modern democracy. There are rights to be claimed for all, but there are also duties to be done by all. It is these duties to others which these six Commandments teach us and so give us the main principles of Christian social life if carried out in the spirit of love, in loyalty to Jesus Christ. This is what lies behind Canon Barnett's attitude towards the relief of the poor. It is easy to give promiscuously wherever there is need. But the really Christian attitude is to love our neighbour as ourselves and therefore to help, and not to hinder, the betterment of his character. The Socialist is inclined to say "Give to all who are in need" without asking why they are in need. The Christian tries to say "I ought so to help that my neighbour may not be in need again." To love your neighbour as yourself means that you try to help him to become more truly a child of God. Character rather than material comfort must be our ultimate aim. If we are to love our neighbour as ourselves we cannot conscientiously act towards him or allow him to act

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towards us in a way which inevitably leads to self-indulgence and loss of self-control.

The Commandments as reinterpreted by Christ show us how to meet our social problems by putting the love of God first and through it learning the love of our fellow-men. This brings us finally to the love of ourselves. Here comes the great controversy with Marx, who assumed that man, and especially the rich man ("old Money-Bags") is always selfish and therefore we must put our trust in society and check by force the selfishness of the individual. In England in the nineteenth century many of the leaders of our working men were Christians and lay preachers. Their influence is with us when we point out that the Gospel of Jesus Christ means that the value of the individual soul is infinite and that its selfishness can be changed to love. Christianity therefore is committed to the reformation of society through the influence of a growing number of changed individuals rather than to a right use of the powers of the community in the interests of the majority. It is out for a change of heart rather than, or in addition to, an improvement in the outward conditions of life. It is a harder but a more enduring and fundamental process. A Christian finds the reason of social wrongs in himself and not in others and is not afraid to confess himself a sinner and to try to put right what he has done wrong. That is the very secret of love to one's neighbour. The type of character which Jesus Christ demands of His followers He sketches in the Sermon on the Mount. It is very different from the type of character which is popular with many now, but it is the only

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one which, if it were widely prevalent, would solve our social problems because it would mean that we had learnt to love one another. Listen as He describes His disciples : "Blessed are the poor in spirit, blessed are they that mourn, blessed are the meek, blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, blessed are the merciful, blessed are the pure in heart, blessed are the peacemakers, blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake."¹ And this is the type of man who is wanted in the industrial world to secure the efficiency of workmanship. For he is teachable, willing to confess himself mistaken and ready to see another point of view. Christ said of the meek that they shall inherit the earth. The truth of this is seen in industry to-day where the meek, that is the loyal and unselfish, man is wanted everywhere because he is the best workman and the best employer. Our task is to build up that type of character in our parishes and to make our various organisations a means for creating round each Church a fellowship of such real Christians. So we shall be solving our social problems by building up a society based on love.

These were the principles underlying all the many activities of Canon Barnett in Whitechapel. His success and the Settlement movement which he started should be a great encouragement to us. He showed that it is possible to win men and women in the poorest parts of our towns by the love of God, that it is good to lay all the resources of beauty and learning at their feet and so teach them about God. He stood for the principle that the life was

¹ St. Matthew, v, 1-12.

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more than meat and that the commandment "Thou shalt not steal" must always be observed even in charity. He learnt the love of his neighbour because he had first learnt the love of God, and as his life went on he more and more displayed the character of the disciple in the Sermon on the Mount.

So we have glanced at the history of the Church of England in the nineteenth century as typified in six of its leading parish clergy. The outstanding fact is the vitality which characterises it, manifesting itself in growth and in adaptability to changing circumstances. It is no dead Church of which we are members. Of many sides of this life we have not been able to take account. But we have seen enough to make us once more proud of our great heritage. There have been vast changes between the days of Simeon and those of Barnett. Steam and electricity, natural science and historical criticism, democracy and imperialism have all had their influence on the Church. It is very different outwardly from what it was a hundred years ago. Yet it is the same, only enriched, more beautiful, with greater opportunities of service and a new consciousness of its divine mission. Your task is to bring the knowledge of Jesus Christ to bear upon the individuals in your parishes. It is a glorious career which awaits you, for you are to be the ambassadors of Christ. You are the successors of these men about whom we have been learning together. You see from their lives something of the magnitude of the work that you may do for God by the same loyalty to Jesus Christ which they displayed. Be diligent as

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they were day by day. Be students always, however busy you may be. Be preachers of the Word, remembering that the Gospel message has still its ancient power to win men's hearts. Show your people that the Feast which Christ Himself ordained is the outward symbol of our life-long feeding on the Bread of Life by faith.

A great future lies before you in the twentieth century, for which the nineteenth has been a preparation. Jesus Christ is still the Way through history. There are perplexities and dangers ahead of us, but He has not guided our Church through the centuries up to the present only to desert us now. The history of our Church and nation is the sure guarantee that He has chosen us as a people to serve Him in the world, and if He calls us He will be Himself the Way. Study as we have done here His guidance in the past and see Him in all the great movements of the day in the time to come.

He is still the Truth. We need not be afraid of new truth, because our Church has always loved learning and in the last century it has wonderfully succeeded in assimilating the new to the old. Our scholars in the last hundred years have shown us that the figure of the Lord stands out clearer and closer, more human and more divine than ever before. He is still the Key which unlocks the mystery of life. It will be your joy to show your people that your Master is still the Truth for which men are seeking.

He is still the Life. There never was a time when life was so full, so rich, so attractive as it is to-day. This world and all that it can offer of pleasure and

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comfort draw men more powerfully than ever. But the nation has just been face to face with death in the Great War and the glory of that sacrifice can never fade from our national life. The rising generation wistfully wonders what lies beyond this life. How can the motive of self-sacrifice be made powerful when the claims of self are so strong ? How can we teach the reality of the Unseen when the seen claims us so powerfully ? The answer is still " This is life eternal that they may know Thee, the only true God and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent." Then life here is seen as the training for life hereafter and the cultivation of self is absorbed into the service of the Master. It still is true that " in Him is life and the life is the light of men."

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